

A  
Collection of Speeches

MADE BY  
Sir EDWARD DERING  
KNIGHT and BARONET,  
in matter of  
RELIGION.

Some formerly Printed, and diverse  
more now added : All of them revised,

For the  
VINDICATION  
Of His NAME,  
From weake and wilfull Calumnie :

And by the same  
Sir EDWARD DERING  
now subjected to publike  
*view and Censure,*

Upon the urgent importunity of many,  
both Gentlemen and Divines.

Ovid. *Dat veniam Corvis, vexat censura columbas.*

Aristoph. in *Avis*. *Μαυροπους τυνθιμνος εν ενισχυμνος.*

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London Printed, 1642.

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SIR EDWARD DERING

Knight and Baronet

in Parliament

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## To the Reader.

**L**ET them who are in a fault ransom themselves with excusatory defences. I have no such worke in hand. A short Narration will be my just Vindication.

Apologies are ever read with Jelousie: and they are indeed but after-games at Reputation. These sheets doe not weare that livery: I have no need to Apologize.

Nothing in my selfe hath moved me to open these Papers abroad: and what need I regard the emptie opinion of such as doe either weakly or wilfully traduce? But they doe traduce! it is said that I doe ~~transpire~~ yet none can justly say, where, when, to whom, or what, I ever said: that I doe since recede from.

Reader, if thou either be a Scholler or a Gentleman, read and censure freely: I feare no blot from thy hand: if thou be neither, cast what dirt thou wilt, none will stick on me. And indeed I had rather (if thou be such) beare the scourge of thy tongue, then have the kisses of thy lips: The latter would make me suspect my selfe; the former would beget a hope of some merit in me.

A well-fare to my Reader, if he be, either of birth or breeding: A farewell to the rest.

Edward Dering.



## SECTION I.



Hy'am I thus unhappily, and thus publickly engaged? If my head and my heart have alway gone even pace together, if my conscience and my tongue have ever kept one tune, how is it that I heare my selfe changed? If any thing I have said or done be contrariant, nay if dissonant or retardant to a most *severe Reformation*, ( the utmost of my constant wish and profession ) nay if upon any occasion I have therein been remisse and tepid, if upon all occasions I have not given my active and my hearty endeavours thereunto, some good friend be a true glasse unto me, and reflect that by-past error to my sight againe. I will owne the faule ( if it be mine ) and thanke him.

But if some passengers ( in I know not what ship ) saile by, untill their owne heads be giddy, they may as well say, that the Hills and Trees upon the shoare, as that I am moved. Whilst they are floating, I stand steady, wondring to what coast they are bound.

The question is, whether ever I professed my selfe for *Root and Branch*: that is the *Shibboleth* whereby some try whether you are for *Ruine* or for *Reforming*. Every one is not catechised in plaine tearmes as I was. *Art thou for us, or for our Adversaries?* So said one of the usuall black walkers in Westminster Hall. Another of our Parliament-pressing Ministers, after I had delivered my sence upon Episcopacy in the House, came to me and told me plainely, *That my conscience was not so good as in the beginning of the Parliament*. Yet I may ( and doe ) challenge him, or any man, to instance where, when, and what I have said to deserve this opinion of change.

I presse not this, as fondly glorying in a pertinacy. No, I professe my selfe ready and willing, at any time to imbrace a corrected understanding, let any of them ( who hath temper, discretion and charity ) come and try me. I have no end, no ayme to lead me, but faire truth, I have no byas but a conscience warmed with zeale, and therefore when I change, ( if I change ) it shall be the conquest and victory of truth upon me. And I then shall never bee ashamed of being wonne, but will glory in the change.

But I delivered in the Bill for abolition of Episcopacy. True, my S. A. H friend (then next mee) urged me with importunacy that I would receive it, and plainly said it should goe in how ever: and so (I am assured) it had, but not with so faint commendations as I bestowed on it, which (I dare say) gave no weight unto the worke. The Bill was then lesse then two sheets of paper, and by subjoyning two more might have given us the old originall Episcopacy, even with the same hand that abrogated the present. Beside, the chiefe and then was to expedite the progresse of another Bill against the secular jurisdiction of the Bishops (at that very time) labouring in the House of Lords. So that this Bill did in my sense *Iniquum petere, ut equum ferret.*

Little did I (or any man there) imagine, that those two sheets should be multiplied with addition of above fourty more, and yet unfinished.

The onely colour, or rather shadow whereupon some thought mee as fierce for *ruine* as themselves, was my fortune or misfortune, to strike first, (and shortly after, secondly) at the tallest Cedar on the Churches *Lebanon*. Tis true I did so, and am nothing sorry for the blow. His crimes were many: the complaints were fresh with me, and my selfe (entrusted by that County where his Diocese is seated) as fit as any to strike that stroke.

This was at that time received and applauded as an act of justice, but by the same men of late traduced, as relishing of personall malignity. *Non sic didici Christum.* I thank God, my heart hath never yet knowne the swelling of a personall malice. And for the Bishop, I professe, I did (and doe) beare a good degree of personall love unto him, a love unto some parts and qualities, which I thinke him master off.

His intent of publike uniformity was a good purpose, though in the way of his pursuit thereof he was extreameley faulty.

His booke lately set forth (especially for the latter halfe thereof) hath muzzled the Jesuite, and shall strike the Papists under the fifth ribbe, when hee is dead and gone. And being dead, wheresoever his grave shall bee, *Paul's* will bee his perpetuall monument, and his owne booke his lasting *Epitaph*.

It is true, the roughnesse of his uncourtly nature sent most men discontented from him: yet would he often (of himselfe) find wayes and means to sweeten many of them againe, when they least looked for it.

Lastly, hee was alway one and the same man; begin with him at *Oxford*, and so goe on to *Canterbury*, hee is un-mov'd, unchanged: hee never complied with the times, but kept his owne stand, untill the times came up to him.



Hee is not now in a condition to be flattered, nor was I ever so low, to use it. I did not accuse him for these. I struck another string; and that of so right a tune to them that are stung with the *Tarantula*, that I was instantly voyced, more as they would have mee, then I was. For (the truth is) I did not dreame, at that time of *extirpation* and abolition of any more then his Archiepiscopacy: our professed *enemies* themselves (many of them) at that houre had I perswade my selfe, more moderate hopes then since are entertained. *A severe Reformation* was a sweet song then, I am and ever was for that, and for no more.

*Dr. W.*

It is objected that I goe counter to what I have publiquely asserted in the House: have patience, and take a copy of what I have spoken in matter of Religion.

## SECT. II.

*Novemb. 10. 1640.*

*Mr. Speaker,*

**Y**esterday the great affaires of this House did borrow all the time allotted to the great Committee for Religion. I am sorry that having but halfe a day in a whole weeke, we have lost it.

*Mr. Speaker,* It hath pleased God to put into the heart of his Majesty (for the Kings heart is in the hand of the Lord) one more to assemble us into a Senate, to consult upon the unhappy distractions, the sad dangers and the much feared ruines of this late flourishing Church and Kingdome. God be praised, both for his goodnesse, and for his severity whereby hee hath impelled this meeting; and humble thanks unto his Majesty, whose parentall care of us his Subjects, is willing to relieve us.

The sufferances that wee have undergone are reducible to two heads. The first concerning the *Church*: the second belonging to the *Common-wealth*. The first of these must have the first fruits of this Parliament, as being the first in weight and worth, and more immediate to the honour of God and his glory, every dramme whereof is worth the whole weight of a Kingdome.

The *Common-wealth* (it is true) is full of apparent dangers. The sword is come home unto us, and the two twin-Nations united together under one Royall head, brethren together in the bowels and the bowels of the same Island, and which is above all, imbandled together with the same Religion (I say the same Religion) by a *Devillish* machination, like to be fatally imbrued in each others blood, ready to dig each others grave, *Quantillum absuit!*

For other grievances also, the poor disheartned Subject, sadly groanes, not able to distinguish betwixt Power and Law: And with a weeping heart (no question) hath prayed for this houre, in hope to be relieved, and to know hereafter, whether any thing hee hath, besides his poore part and portion of the Common ayre hee breathes; may be truly called his owne.

These (Mr. *Speaker*) and many other doe deserve, and must shortly have our deepe regard, but *Suo gradu*, not in the first place. There is a *num necessarium* above all our worldly sufferances and dangers, Religion, the immediate service due unto the honour of Almighty God. And herein let us all bee confident, that all our consultations will prove unprosperous, if wee put any determination before that of Religion.

For my part, Let the sword reach from the North to the South, and a generall perdition of all our remaining right and safety, threaten us in open view, it shall bee so farre from making mee to decline the first settling of Religion, that I shall ever argue, and rather conclude it thus. The more great, the more imminent our perils of this World are, the stronger and quicker ought our care to bee for the glory of God and the pure Law of our soules.

If then (Mr. *Speaker*) it may passe with full allowance, that all our cares may give way unto the treaty of Religion, I will reduce that also to be considered unto two heads: first of Ecclesiastick persons; then of Ecclesiastick causes. Let no man start or bee affrighted at the imagined length of this consultation, it will not, it cannot take up so much time as it is worth. — This, it is God and the King; this, is God and the Kingdome, nay, this is God and the two Kingdomes cause.

And therefore (Mr. *Speaker*) my humble motion is, that wee may all of us seriously, speedily, and heartily enter upon this, the best, the greatest, the most important cause wee can treat of.

Now (Mr. *Speaker*) in pursuite of my owne motion, and to make a little entrance into this great affaire, I will present unto you the petition of a poore oppressed Minister in the County of *Kent*. A man Orthodox in his Doctrine, conformable in his life, laborious in the Ministry as any wee have, or I doe know.

Hee is now a sufferer (as all good men are) under the generall obloquy of a Puritan; (as with other things was excellently delivered by Sir *Ben. Rudyer*. that silver trumpet at the Barre.) The Pursivant watches his doore, and divides him and his Cure asunder, to both their griefes: For it is not with him as (perhaps) with some that set the Pursivant at worke, gladed of an excuse to bee out of their Pulpit, It is his delight to Preach.

About

About a weeke since I went over to *Lambeth*, to move that great Bishop ( too great indeed ) to take this danger off from the Minister, and to recall the Purfivant. And withall I did undertake for Master *Wilson* ( for so your Petitioner is called ) that hee should answer his accusers in any of the Kings Courts at *Westminster*.

The Bishop made mee answer ( as neere as I can remember ) *in his verba*, I am sure that hee will not bee absent from his Cure a twelve-moneth together, and then ( I doubt not ) but once in a yeare we shall have him.

This was all I could obtaine, but I hope, ( by the helpe of this House ) before this yeare of threats run round, *His Grace* will either have more *Grace*, or no *Grace* at all. For our manifold griefes doe fill a mighty and a vast circumference, yet so that from every part our lines of sorrow, doe lead unto him, and point unto him the Center, from whence our miseries in this Church, and many of them in the Common-wealth doe flow.

*Let the Petition bee read, and let us enter upon the worke.*

**W**Hat is here for *Root and Branch*? I can not find a line that I can wish unsaid: nor doe I read a letter, that I would goe lesse in. It is replied, that the Petitioner *Mr. Wilson*, is a man for *Root and Branch*; if hee bee, that was no part of his Petition, nor indeed any part of my knowledgethen: I am no more obliged to answer herein, then I am bound to owne and defend *Mr. Wilson*, if hee should hereafter cast aside the Common-prayer, what were that to mee, or to what I then did say? sure I am, that I was well assured, that hee did not allow of separation then: and that hee had beene a powerfull perswader of others, not to withdraw from our publike service. And I thinke so well of his goodnesse, temper and conscience, that hee will not easily bee led away to these mistaking excesses.

### SECT. III.

**T**He next is that which I spake in the grand Committee of the whole House for Religion, *Mr. White* holding that Chaire: whereof this is a copy.

23. Novemb. 1640.

*Mr. White,*

**Y**OU have many private Petitions, give mee leave ( by word of mouth ) to interpose one more generall, which thus you may receive.



Gods true Religion is violently invaded by two seeming enemies : but indeed they are (like *Herod* and *Pilate*) fast friends for the destruction of truth. I mean the papists for one party, and our prelating faction for the other. Between these two in their severall progresse, I observe the concurrence of some few parallels, fit (as I conceive) to be represented to this Honourable House.

First, with the papists there is a severe *Inquisition* : and with us (as it is used) there is a bitter high *Commission* ; both these (*contra fact & jus*) are Judges in their own cause : yet herein their *Inquisitors* are better than our *High-Commissioners*—They (for ought ever I heard) do not (*savire in suis*) punish for delinquents and offenders such as profess and practice according to the Religion established by the Laws of the Land where they live.

But with us how many poor distressed Ministers, nay, how many scores of them, in a few yeers past, have been suspended, degraded, deprived, excommunicated, not guilty of the breach of any our established Laws. The petitions of many are here with us, more are coming : all their prayers are in Heaven for redresse.

Secondly, with the papists, there is a mysterious artifice, I mean their *Index expurgatorius*, whereby they clip the tongues of such witnesses, whose evidence they do not like.—To this I parallell our late *Imprimaturs*, Licenses for the presse : so handled, that truth is suppressed, and popish pamphlets fly abroad *cum privilegio* ; witness the audacious and libelling pamphlets against true Religion, written by *Pocklington*, *Heylin*, *Dow*, *Cosins*, *Shelford*, *Swan*, *Reeves*, *Yates*, *Hausted*, *Studley*, *Sparrow*, *Brown*, *Roberts*.—Many more : I name no Bishops, but I adde, &c.

Nay they are already grown so bold in this new trade, that the most learned labourers of our ancient best Divines must be new corrected, and defaced with a *Deletur* by the supercilious pen of my Lords young Chaplain (fit perhaps) for the technicall arts, but unfit to hold the Chair for Divinity.

But herein the *Roman Index* is better then are our *Englisch Licenses* ; They thereby do preserve the current of their own established Doctrine, a point of wisdom ; but with us our *Innovators* by this artifice do alter our settled Doctrines ; Nay, they do subinduce points repugnant and contrariant. And this I dare assume upon my self to prove.

One parallell more I have, and that is this : Among the papists, there is one acknowledged Supreme pope, Supreme in honour, in order, and in power ; from whose Judgement there is no appeal.—I confesse

About a weeke since I went over to *Lambeth*, to move the Bishop (too great indeed) to take this danger off from the *Minister*, to recall the *Parfivant*. And withall I did undertake for *Mallory* (for so your Petitioner is called) that hee should answer his account any of the Kings Courts at *Westminster*.

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(M. Speaker) I cannot altogether match a pope with a pope (yet one of the ancient titles of our English primate was *Altarius orbis Papi.*) But thus farre I can go, *Ex ore suo.* It is in print;—He pleads fair for a Parriarchate; and for such an one whose judgement he (before-hand) professeth ought to be finall: and then (I am sure) it ought to be un-erring.

Put these together, and you shall finde that the finall determination of a Patriarch will want very little of a pope,—and then we may say

————— *Mutato nomine de te*

*Fabula narratur* —————

He pleads popeiship under the name of a Patriarch. And I much fear lest the end and top of his patriarchall plea may be as that of Cardinall Pool (his predeceffour) who would have two heads, one *Caput Regale*, another *Caput Sacerdotale*: a proud parallell, to set up the Miter as high as the Crown.

But herein I shall be free and clear, if one there must be, be it a pope, be it a patriarch, this I resolve upon for my own choyce (*Procul a Jove procul a fulmine.*) I had rather serve one as farre off as *Tyber*, then to have him come so neer me as the *Thames*. A pope at *Rome* will do me lesse hurt then a patriarch at *Lambeth*.

I have done, and for this third parallell I submit it to the wisdom and consideration of this grand Committee for religion, in the mean time I do ground my motion upon the former two, and it is this in brief;

That you would please to select a subcommittee of a few, and to im-power them for the discovery of the numbers of oppressed Ministers under the Bishops tyranny for these ten yeers last past. We have the complaint of some, but more are silent: some are patient and will not complain, others are fearfull and dare not, many are beyond Sea, and cannot complain.

And in the second place, That the sub-Committee may examin the Printers what books by bad Licenses have been corruptly issued forth; and what good books have been (like good Ministers) silenced, clipped or cropped.

The work I conceive will not be difficult, but will quickly return into your hand full of weight.

*And this is my motion.*

What is here for *Root and Branch*? But I must search further, although for that, which (I am sure) cannot be found,

## S E C T. IV.

**I** Come now to the likeliest tryall wherein to finde my self guilty. A petition was brought unto me out of *Kent* in *terminis terminantibus*, as that (from many Citizens of *London*) which is in print. This indeed if it were not the *Spawn of the London petition*, yet finding it a Parrat taught to speak the syllables of that, and by roat calling for *Root and Branch*, I dealt with the presenters thereof, and with other parties thereunto, untill (with their consents) I reduced it to lesse then a quarter of it former length, and taught it a new and more modest language, upon delivery of this petition thus I prefaced.

January 13. 1640.

Mr. Speakers

**Y** Esterday we did regulate the most important businesse before us, and gave them motion, so that our weighty affairs, are now on their feet in their progresse, journeying on towards their severall periods, where some I hope will shortly finde their latest home.

Yet among all these I observe one, a very main one, to sleep *sine die*, give me leave to awaken it; It is a businesse of an immense weight, and worth; such as deserves our best care, and most severe circumspection. I mean the grand petition long since given in by many thousand Citizens against the Domineering of the Clergy.

Wherein (for my part) although I cannot approve of all that is presented unto you, yet I do clearly professe; that a great part of it, nay the greatest part thereof, is so well grounded, that my heart goes cheerfully along therewith.

It seems that my Country (for which I have the honour to serve) is of the same minde, and least that you should think that all faults are included within the walls of *Troy*, they will shew you

*Iliacos intra muros peccatur & extra.*

The same grievances which the City groans under, are provincially unto us, and I much fear they are nationall among us all.

The Pride, the Avarice, the Ambition and Oppression, by our ill ruling Clergy is *Epidemicall*, it hath infected them all. There is not any, or scarce any of them, who is not practicall in their own *great cause in hand*, which they impiously do miscall, *the piety of the times*, but in truth, so wrong a Piety, that I am bold to say.

*In facinus jurasse putes.* —————

Here in this Petition is the Disease represented, here is the Cure intreated.

The number of your Petitioners is considerable, being above five and twenty hundred names, and would have been four times as many, if that were thought materiall.

The matter in the Petition is of high import: but your Petitioners themselves are all of them quiet and silent at their own houses, humbly expecting and praying the resolution of this great *Senate*, upon these their earnest and their hearty desires.

Here is no noyse, no numbers at your door: they will be neither your trouble, nor your jealousie; for I do not know of any one of them this day in the Town; So much they do affie in the goodnesse of their Petition, and the justice of in this House.

If now you want any of them here, to make avowance of their Petition, I am their servant. I do appear for them and for my self, and am ready to avow this Petition, in their names, and in mine own.

Nothing doubting, but fully confident, that I may justly say of the present usage of the Hierarchy in the Church of England, as once the pope (pope *Adrian* ss I remember) said of the Clergy in his time: *A vertice capitis ad plantam pedis, nihil est sanum in toto ordine ecclesiastico.*

*I beseech you reade the Petition, regard us and releve us.*

The Petition it self speaks thus:

To the Honourable the Commons House  
of Parliament.

The humble Petition of many the Inhabitants within  
His Majesties County of Kent.

**M**ost humbly shewing, That by sad experience we do daily finde the Government in the Church of England, by Archbishops, Lord-Bishops, Deans, and Archdeacons, with their Courts, Jurisdictions, and Administrations, by them and their inferiour Officers, to be very dangerous, both to the Church and Common-wealth, and to be the occasion of manifold grievances unto His Majesties Subjects in their consciences, liberties, and estates, and likely to be fetall unto us in the continuance thereof. The  
dangerous



dangerous effects of which Lordly power in them, have appeared in these particulars following.

1. They do with a hard band over-rule all other Ministers, subjecting them to their cruell authority.
2. They do suspend, punish, and deprive many godly, religious, and painfull Ministers, upon slight and upon no grounds: whilst in the mean time, few of them do preach the Word of God themselves, and that but seldome. But they do restrain the painfull preaching of others, both for Lectures, and for afternoon Sermons on the Sabbath day.
3. They do countenance, and have of late encouraged Papists, Priests, and Arminian both Books and persons.
4. They hinder good and godly Books to be Printed; yet they do Licence to be published, many Popish, Armenian, and other dangerous Tenents.
5. They have deformed our Churches, with Popish Pictures and suited them with Romish Altars.
6. They have of late extolled and commended much the Church of Rome, denying the Pope to be Antichrist; affirming the Church of Rome to be a true Church in fundamentals.
7. They have practised and enforced antiquated and obsolete Ceremonies, as standing at the Hymnes at Gloria Patri, and turning to the East at severall parts of the Divine Service, bowing to the Altar, which they tearme the place of Gods residence upon earth: the reading of a second service at the Altar, and denying the holy Sacrament of the Eucharist to such as have not come up to a new set Rail before the Altar.
8. They have made and contrived illegall Canons and Constitutions, and framed a most pernicious and desperate Oath: an Oath of covenant and confederacy for their own Hierarchicall greatnesse, besides many other dangerous and pernicious passages in the said Canons.
9. They do dispeage plurality of Benefices: they do both prohibit and grant Marriages, neither of them by the rule of Law or Conscience, but do prohibite that they may grant, and grant that they may have money.
10. They have procured a licentious liberty for the Lords-Day, but have pressed the strict observance of Saints-Holidays, and do punish, suspend, degrade, deprive godly Ministers for not publishing a Book for liberty of sports on the Sabbath-day.
11. They do generally abuse the great Ordinance of Excommunication, making sometimes a gain of it, to the great discomfort of many poor souls, who for want of money can get no absolution.
12. They claim their Office and jurisdiction to be jure divino, and do

exercise the same (contrary to Law) in their own names, and under their own Seals.

13. They receive and take upon them Temporall honours, dignities, places, and offices in the Common-wealth, as if it were lawfull for them to use both Swords.

14. They take cognizance in their Courts and elsewhere of matters determinable at common Law.

15. They put Ministers upon Parishers, without the Patron, and without the peoples consent.

16. They do yearly impose oaths upon Church-wardens, to the most apparent danger of filling the Land with perjury.

17. They do exercise oaths ex officio in the nature of an Inquisition, even unto the thoughts of men.

18. They have apprehended men by Pursuivants, without citation or misgives first sent: They break up mens houses and Studies, taking away what they please.

19. They do awe the Judges of the Land with their greatnesse, to the inhibition of prohibitions, and hindering of Habeas Corpus when it is due.

20. They are strongly suspected to be confederate with the Roman party in this Land, and with them to be authors, contrivers, or consenters to the present commotions in the North; and the rather, because of a contribution by the Clergy, and by the Papists in the last year, 1639; and because of an ill named benevolence of six Subsidies, granted, or intended to be granted this present year 1640, thereby, and with these moneyes to engage (as much as in them lay) the two Nations into blood.

It is therefore humbly and earnestly prayed, That this Hierarchicall power may be totally abrogated, if the wisdom of this Honorable House shall finde that it cannot be maintained by Gods Word, and to his Glory.

And we your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

#### SECT. V.

**U**PON occasion of what I said of the late Canons, I might easily have pressed the abolition of the Founders, and of the whole order of prelacy: And surely, if it had been my wish, I would (as others) have so exprest my self. Here follows my argument against these Canons, and that chiefly aimed against the Founders of them; yet nothing of Root and Branch.

14 Decemb. 1640.

M. Speaker,

THat the late Canons are invalidus, it will easily appear, and that they are so originally in the foundation, or rather in the founders of them, I will assume upon my self to demonstrate, having first intimated my sense by way of preparative.

The Pope (as they say) hath a triple Crown; answerable thereunto, and to support that he pretends to have a three-fold Law: the first is, *jus divinum*, *Episcopacy by divine Right*; and this he would have you think to be the Coronet next his head, that which doth circle and secure his power. Our Bishops have (in an unlucky time) entered their plea, and pretended title to this Crown, *Episcopacy by divine Right*.

The second is *Jus humanum*, *Constantines donation*, the gift of indulgent Princes; temporall power. This Law belongs to his second, of his middle Crown; already also pleaded for by our prelates in print.

These two Crowns being obtained, he (the pope) doth frame and make his third Crown himself, and sets that up next, upon the top— This Crown also hath its Law, and that is *Jus canonicum*, the Canon-Law, of more use unto his popeship then both the other.— Just so our prelates, from the pretended divinity of their Episcopacy, and from the temporall power granted by our Princes, they would now obtrude a new *Canon-Law* upon us.

They have charged their *Canons* at us to the full; and never fearing that ever they would recoil back into a Parliament, they have rammed a prodigious ungodly oath into them.

The illegality and invalidity of these Canons (as I conceive) is easily discoverable by one short question, *viz.* What do you call the meetings wherein they were made? give it a name to know it by: who can frame his argument aright, unlesse he can first tell against what he is to argue? would you confute the *Convocation*? they were a *holy Synod*: would you argue against the *Synod*? why they were *Commissioners*: would you dispute the *Commission*? they will mingle all powers together, and answer that they were some fourth thing, that we neither know nor imagine.

*Quo tenem modo mutantem Protea?* unlesse they will unriddle themselves, and own what they were, we may prosecute, but hardly with concludent arguments. Yet I venture.

I have



I have conferred with some of the founders of these new Canons, but I professe clearly, That I could never yet meet with any one of that assembly, who could (in behalf of their meeting) well answer me the first question in the Catechise, What is your name? Alas they are parted, before they know what they were when they were together.

The sum of the severall answers that I have received, doth amount to this; They were a *Convocationall--Synodicall--Assembly of Commissioners*, indeed a three-fold *Chimera*, a monster to our Laws, a *Cerberus* to our Religion.

Parker  
Polit.

A strange *Commission* wherein no one Commissioners name is to be found. A strange Convocation that lived when the Parliament was dead: A strange *body Synod* where one part never saw, never conferred with the other.—But indeed what need or use of conference, if that be true of these Canons, which I read of the former ones, *Notum est Canones formari Lambethæ, priusquàm in Synodo ventilentur.*

Thus farre preparatory; I proceed to my argument, whereby to manifest the invalidity of these Canons, not borrowing, but avoiding what hath formerly been instanced by others.

I will neither inveigh upon them as unnamed *Commissioners*, nor infirm them the work of a dead *Convocation*; But will take them in the capacity of their own affected title of a *Synod*. Such they bragged themselves to be whilst they sate: such they stile themselves in the Title page of these (never to be canonized) Canons.—The words are—*Canons treated upon in Convocation--agreed upon in Synod.*

This treating in one capacity, and agreeing in another, is a new mould to cast Canons in, never used before. Canons bred in a Convocation, born in a Synod. Thus although we finde not one good father, here are yet two mothers to one ill-favoured childe; never known before, nor imagined but of *Bacchus*, whom the Poets call among other attributes,

—*Solumq; bimatrem.*

I proceed: if their meeting be a Synod, either it is so by *Donation*, by *Election*, or only by *Usurpation*.

*Donation* from the King: is this title and authority indulged to them by His Majesty? Look thorow all His Highesse Letters-Patent, and they are not once saluted with the ambitious title of a *Synod*. Yet in the Canons they have assumed it seventeen times, it is their own pride, their own presumption.

The King hath not done it (pardon me) no Prince ever did it, or can do it; no power Regall, Imperiall, or Papall did ever attempt it to ordain

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daine that *William*, and *Richard*, *Matthew* and *John*, &c. and I know not who more, being met and assembled upon other summons shall by a *Commission* be on a sudden translated from what they were, into an unthought of *Nationall Synod*, without voice or choise of any man to be concerned: this never was done, this never can be well done.

As for due election for such meetings, this indeed is or ought to be of the true esse to a Legitimate *Synod*. But due election made up by voyces is so much a stranger to the *Synod*, that their fatherhoods will confesse that they were never trusted to this *Synod*, as a *Synod* by any, either of the Clergy or of the Laity.

Concerning the choice of a few of them, and but a few (about 50. as I guess) chosent to the Convocation house, that choice will never render them a lawfull *Synod*, untill they can prove *metamorphosis* and *Transubstantiation* — For the votes of all their choosers upon expiration of the Convocation house returned back home to every mans bosome from whence they breathed. So that if you will en-live the same men to be now *Synodall*, who were before but Convocationall, you must renew the old *Pythagorean Transmigration*, for they want the breath and life of an election. A new one you have not, and the old one is not to be had but by *μετεμύωσις*.

Besides I do affirme and shall approve, that the Electors to a *Convocation* and to a *Synod* are not all one. The Clergy only do, and of right only ought to chuse unto the Convocation house. The reason; we of the Laity (so they will call us) have our House of Commons where our Trustees by vertue of our voices do sit at the same time. But in the choice unto a *Synod*, we who must be bound by the determinations of the *Synod*, ought also to be interested in the parties determining. This is cleare enough in reason, and will be better cleared presently.

Of *Synods* I find five severall sorts, first a generall or universall *Synod*; secondly, *Patriarchicall*; thirdly, *Nationall*; fourthly, *Provinciall*; fifthly, a *Diocesan Synod*. I passe by the two first and last, as not pertinent to this time and affaire. Concerning *Provinciall* and *Nationall Synods* a word or two; if I knew which to call their late meeting. They run on riddles: and I want an *Oedipus* at every turne.

These *Canons*, were they forged in one *Synod Nationall*, or in two *Provinciall*? were they two *Provinciall Synods*? how then come their Acts and Canons to be imbodied together? how comes it to passe that all the *Canons* speake in the singular number? The *Synod*; The *holy Synod*; The *sacred Synod*. Sacred will now be hardly granted, unlesse as the Poet doth — *Auri sacra fames*.

Was it then but one? was it a *Nationall Synod*? Why the Provinces (we all know) never did convene, they never met together. Look on the representative body of the Commons of this whole Land; every one within the same walls hearing every ones argument, and thereupon mending, altering, (and as occasion is) correcting his owne judgement, and afterwards (*ὁμοθυμαδόν*) joyning in unanimous consent. And if the able members of the North beyond *Trent* were divided from the rest, there would be quickly found a want of their worth and weight, nor could their sitting at the same time at *Yorke*, make the rest a House of Commons here, for the whole Kingdome must be represented entire.

But as we have done the Title *Synod*, so let us give them the attribute Nationall, a *Nationall Synod*, and yet see how inconsistent and invalidous they are.

The very esse of every Synod doth subsist in a double foundation. *Fundamentum materiale* and *fundamentum formale* — The due materials of a *Synod* are the interiour qualities and indowments of the persons, whereof the Synod consisteth, not their externall dignities and promotions. And therefore every man thus qualified is as capable to be of the *Synod*, as any *Deane* or *Archdeacon* of them all.

The *fundamentum formale*, is *Delegatio ab ecclesia & debita electio*. A due choice to be made by all that are or shall be concerned in the determinations of the *Synod*: and this trust of choice may fall upon another man, as well and as soone as upon *Deane* or *Archdeacon*.

I will not quarrell the want of able parts in any Members of that late doubtfull dangerous meeting: I grant them the materials of a true *Synod*, but will insist only upon the second, want of forme, want of due election: which if they want, the most virtuall and most obliging tie, and the most binding part is wanting.

That they had no such election, we need not goe forth to prove; No one man in the Kingdome can say that he gave a voice to the election of any one *Dean* or *Archdeacon* to sit for him in that *Synod*, nor were the *Clarkes* chosen by all who were to be bound. So then there remaineth only to be proved this. That such election of persons, by all persons to be concerned in the Decrees and Canons, is necessary to the constituting of a lawfull *Synod*; which is all one as to say, that the elections to a *Synod* ought to be, both by the Clergy and the Laity.

*M. Speaker*. I will trouble you but with one reason, and a very few instances, all briefly,

The Acts and Canons of every lawfull Nationall Councell or *Synod*, ought to binde the whole Nation, both Laity and Clergy: But this can-

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not be reasonable and just, if the Laity be excluded both from consultation, and from choice of consulters. The reason is plaine. It is a ground in nature, and so confessed upon this very case by Dr. *Field*, who hath it out of *Occam* — *quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus tractari debet*. And this is so cleare a maxim, that in this very sence also; for the Laity to be present at Councils, this very *Aphorisme* is used by the Pope in his owne glosse upon the Canonist *Gratian*. *Quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus tractari debet*. Surely our Clergie are much too high, if herein they would outgoe the very Canons of the Papall Synods, and conclude that which shall bind all, where all are not admitted to treat, neither by themselves nor by proxy.

Now the benefit of this Law of nature, and of reason (as Dr. *Field* calleth it) we claim. The present *Canons* doe concerne us. I may be a Church-warden, my sonne may be a Master of Art; then must I present upon their yet unborne articles, and he must sweare their oath of Covenant — well, they were never trusted by us unto a Synod; and therefore ought not to tie us up un-heard, it is against *Nature* and *Reason*.

To second this Argument by instance in prooffe of practise, I shall produce a few, and but a few of many examples and authorities: the originals I cannot now command, but must be content to name a few extracts, which by way of transcript doe walke along with my *vade mecum*.

The point that I would establish is this, that in *Synods* and Councils, where Lay men are concerned in the Decrees, there the Laity may be present to consult, if not also to decide the conclusions. I will but point I will not enlarge to the vouching every place *verbatim*; Dr. *Field*, Dr. *Fulke*, *Goulartius*, are cleare and positive in this point.

Our Statutes for correcting and gathering together the former *Canons* into a new body, doe clearly evidence this unto us; in all which there is an equall proportion mixed, sixteen of the Clergy, and as many of the Laity.

The Author of the History of *Trent* is frequent in this point, adding this for a reason, that in a *Generall Council*, the universall Church cannot be represented, if the Laity be excluded. So by the rule *a paribus*, The reason holdeth the same, a *Nationall Council* cannot represent a Nation, if but one degree of men, men of one quality and capacity be onely present, and the rest altogether excluded.

*Gratian*, the Canonist, doth allow the Laity to be present, especially in such Councils as do treat of faith, and for prooffe doth vouch Pope *Nicholas*.

I will omit many proofes of many Emperours being personally present and president in many Councils, by themselves and sometimes by their Vicegerents, as *Marcellinus*, *Candidianus*, *Martianus*, &c. yet even this is argumentative for us, and a preservative of our right, for the Laity to be present.

The Greeke Historians are so plentiful, that I will only name them. *Theodoret. l. 5. c. 9. Eusebius de vita Constantin. l. 3. c. 9. & 10. Sozomen. l. 1. c. 16. & 17. Niceph. Callistus. l. 8. c. 15. Socrates. l. 1. c. 5. & l. 6. c. 2. Evagrius Scholast. l. 2. c. 4. c. 27.* Among the Latine fathers Cyprian is very plentiful.

As for Councils, looke,

*Nice 1.* vouched by *Eusebius de vita Constantini—4. conc. Carthag.* cited by *Gratian*—The Council of *Eliberis* in Spaine. Council of *Constantinople* in *Theodoret.*—Council of *Constance*; And the second of *Nice.*—where it is said of the Imperiall Lady, the famous *Pulcheria Augusta*, that *ipsa per semetipsam in sancta quarta Synodo sedit*, which fourth Synod was with *Martianus* the Emperour.

To these I adde the very *Ordo celebrandi consilia* written by *Isidor*, and like unto the *Modus tenendi Parliamentum*.

Thus much for humane testimony. I have done with my hasty notes, only I adde this, and I beseech you to intend it.

Whilest wee of the Laity had our power and voyces to chooke our owne Ministers, and our owne Bishops (which was our ancient right, constantly allowed and practised in the best Primitive times, whereof the proofes are yet evident enough) so long (I say) we might trust them in a Synod) whom we first had trusted to direct and guide our soules in all the ministeriall function.—But to conclude us up now, and shut us out contrary to the Law of *Nature* and *Reason*, contrary to ancient usages: not to admit us to determination, nay to exclude us from consultation, and after all to take from us all assent both in choyce and in refusal of Pastors to be set over us, and yet to bind us by decrees so made, may prove (I feare) no lesse then foule tyrannie. I doe not presse the deserved right of our choyce of Pastors: but one thing more, lend mee patience to adde as a supreme *Coronis* to all that I have said for right of Laity in Synods.

Looke I beseech you in the first Synod that ever was held in the Christian Church, and that for so great and singular a cause as never was occasion for the like in the world before or since: you have it in the first of the *Acts* of the holy Apostles, and it is for the choyce of a new Apostle. There were in this Synod and of this Synod, the eleven Apo-

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files; *Act. 1. 13. With the brethren of the Lord, verse 14.* There were the Disciples, there was *Turba* ὄχλος a multitude, of about a 120. names, *verse 15.* Saint Peter tells them that out of that number one must be ordained to be a witnesse of the resurrection of our Saviour; thereupon what doth the multitude of Disciples there present? *Εσησαν δὲ verse 23. they place or set two before the Apostles:* And the same men *viz.* all the Disciples *verse 26.* Ἐδωκεν κλήρους αὐτοῖς, they give forth their lots, and thereupon, the lot falling upon *Matthias*, he was *numbred* (saith our translation) with the eleven Apostles; but the Originall is more, συγκατεψηφισα *communibus calculis annumeratus est*, he was by common assent or by common voices reckoned with the eleven. Now who were these common voyces? who were these 120. men? Evangelists, Bishops, Deacons, and Presbyters or Elders, as yet there was not one in all the world, the Apostles were but eleven, perhaps not numbred in this 120, The Disciples if you will say, that they were there, yet they were but 70. So that here is no evasion; the Laity were present, and not passive onely, they were active in this originall, so weighty a *Synod*.

My second instance in this kinde, is out of the second Councell that ever we read was held, and this is *Acts 6.* where the Apostles call a Councell for the choice of seven Deacons. Then the twelve called the multitude of the Disciples to them, *Verse 2.* τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μαθητῶν. They being assembled doe not say, we have decreed, we have ordered and ordained, and enjoined, but their language is *Verse 3.* Ἐπιστάτε ἀδελφοί, brethren looke ye out, the word is the same as ἐπισκοπεῖν, both from ἐπισκοπεῖν to oversee, doe you oversee among you seven men of honest report. And the saying (as it is *verse 5.*) pleased ἐὼπιον πατρὸς τῆς πλῆθους, the whole multitude, there is a consent of theirs, more plaine in ἐξελεξαντο they the multitude chose seven, *Steven and Philip, &c.* Οὗτοι ἔσιν ἐνώπιον τῶν Ἀποστόλων, whom they (still the multitude τὸ πλῆθος) *verse 6.* did set or place before the Apostles.

The third and the last shall be the *παραθάλαιον* the great and generall Councell held by the Apostles upon the disention of the Church in point of Circumcision (and that is *Acts 15.*) there you shall againe find present, πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος, *verse 12.* All the multitude: but you will say and object that the next word is ἐσίγησε, the multitude kept silence. True, *ergo* what? Therefore they speake not at all in this Councell? nothing lesse. But *ergo* they had spoken before: for it is plaine by the word, THEN, Then all the multitude kept silence. If they had nothing there to doe but to be alwaies silent, this particule of time, Then, might well have beene spared. This may perhaps be objected, and therefore ought



to be prevented, for the further clearing whereof, observe (I pray) the next verse 13. where in like manner, it is said of *Paul* and *Barnabas* *ἔτι τὸ Κύριον αὐτῶν*. And after they held their peace, Ergo they had spoken. And therefore the Frier, who collected together a body of Councils (*Peter Crabbe the German*) doth even from this place infer a consent of the people saying, *Tacuit omnis multitudo consentiens Petro*.

But if you would have this more clearly evidenced beyond all exceptions, I pray take notice of the resolution of this *Synod*, verse 22. *Then pleased it the Apostles and Elders with the whole Church*. With the whole Church, what is that? The blessed Apostles and their fellow-labourers did not engrosse, and (as our Church-men affect to doe) usurpe and monopolize the word Church, as proper onely to Church-men.—No you shall finde it even in the *Epigraphke* of the *Canons* and *Decrees* of this true, holy and sacred *Synod*, that the despised Laity are in these *Canons* conjoynd with the blessed Apostles, although Pope and Patriarch, Primate and Metropolitan, Archbishop and Bishops, yea even downe to Deane and Archdeacon, (I have heard it) doe despise the thought of admitting the Laity: I doe not say to decision, but even to Consultation, nay to the very choice of consulters in Religion: nay lower even so much as to have a negative power, when a man of inability, and of ill life is intruded upon them; I proceed, for I would not *orare*, but *probare*, looke verse 23. They that were present had voice, they who voyced the *Canons*, joyned in the decree, and sending the decree unto *Antioch*. The words are thus; *The Apostles, and Elders, and Brethren send greeting to the Brethren which are in Antioch, &c.* Here the *Brethren* at *Jerusalem* (are with the *Apostles* and the *Elders*) actors in, and authors of the *Canons* in this Council agreed. There is no evasion, no elusion to be had, unlesse you can prove that all the *Brethren* in *Antioch* to whom these *Brethren* in *Jerusalem* did write, were only Clergy men.

Which if you shall affirme, our Clergy will hardly be pleased with you, for they must then be of the *multitude* (not a speciall lot) for *Barnabas* and *Paul* did deliver this Epistle (being the decree of this *Synod*) to the *multitude* τὸ πλῆθος as it is found in the 30. verse. And when they had gathered the *multitude* together, they delivered the Epistle.

Thus much in way of pursuit for this one argument, that no *Canons* can binde the Laity, where we have no voice of our owne, nor choice of the Clergy persons who doe found them, nor assent in the suscepcion of them after they are framed. *Quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus tractari debet*.

Mr. Speaker, It remaines as a wish, that every member of that meeting,

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ting, who voted these exorbitant Canons, should come severally to the Barre of the Parliament House, with a Canon booke in his hand, and there unlesse hee can answer his *Catechisme* (as I called it) and shew what is the name of their meeting, and (unlesse hee can manifest that the Laity are no part of the Church) *Conceptis verbis* in such expresse tearmes as that House should thinke fit, to abjure his owne ill-begotten issue, or else be commanded to give fire to his owne Canons.

# SECT. VI.

Vpon my motion *November 23.* it pleased the grand Committee for Religion, to appoint a Subcommittee, to receive complaints from oppressed Ministers, which Subcommittee was shortly after made a Committee by order of the House. It pleased the Gentlemen of this Committee to put the honour and the burden of the chaire upon mee : from hence severall Reports have beene delivered in, I shall onely trouble the Reader with the first of them.

18. Decemb. 1640.

Mr. White,

THIS grand Committee for Religion did authorize a Sub-committee (among other things) to take into consideration, the unjust sufferings of good Ministers oppressed by the cruell used authority of Hierarchical Rulers.

In this (and in other points) we have entred upon many particulars, we have matured and perfected but one. If we had lesse worke, you should (before this time) have had more : but complaints crowd in so fast upon us, that the very plenty of them retards their issue.

The present Report which I am to make unto you is concerning Mr. *Wilkinson*, a Batchelor in Divinity, and a man in whose character doe concur Learning, Piety, Industry, Modesty.

Two hardships have beene put upon him : one at the time when hee presented himselfe to receive orders : and that was thus.

The Bishop of *Oxfords* Chaplain (Mr. *Fulham*) being the examiner *B. Bancroft* (for Bishops now sorne to doe Bishops worke ; it belongs to himselfe) he propoundeth foure questions to Mr. *Wilkinson*, not taken out of the depth of Divinity, but fitly chosen to discover how affections doe stand to be novellized by the mutability of the present times.

The Questions were thele.

1. *Whether hath the Church authority in matters of faith ?*
2. *May the Kings booke of Sports (so some impious Bishops have abused our pious King, to call their contrivance His Majesties booke) may this be read in the Church without offence ?*
3. *Is*

3. Is bowing to or before the Alter lawfull?

4. Is bowing at the name of *Iesus* lawfull?

The Doctrine of the first affirmed, will bring a dangerous influence upon our beliefe by subjecting our faith to humane resolutions. The other three are disciplinarian in the present way of Novellisme.

As soone as Mr. *Wilkinson* heard these questions, *Lupum auribus*, he had a Wolfe by the eares. And because unto these captious interrogatories, he could not make a peremptory answer, Mr. *Fulham* would not present your Petitioner to the Bishop for ordination.

Thus you see (Mr. *White*) a new way of Symony: Imposition of hands is to be sould, if not for money, yet to make a side, a party, a faction. They will not confer Orders, but upon such as will come in and make party with them in their new practices, as is evident by these questions. Take this, in this kind, as a leading case, a first complaint, more are coming: and Mr. *Wilkinson* shall have the poore common comfort.

*Solamen miseris socios habuisse.* ———

I proceed to his second sufferance, which was by the Vice-chancellour of *Oxford*, for a Sermon preached in his course at *St. Marys* in *Oxford*. Short to make, he preached better, then they were willing to heare: the Sermon fell into the eares of a captious Auditour. For this Sermon, he stands now suspended by the Vice-chancellour from all the spirittual promotion that he had, which was only the reading of a Divinity lecture in *Magdalen-hall*.

The Committee required the Vice-chancellour to send unto us the Sermon with his exceptions in writing. They were brought, and being received, they are three in number: great, and weighty in the accusation: none at all in prooffe. Nay (Mr. *White*) there is nothing presented unto us, wherein to finde a colour or shadow, whereby to make the accusation seemblable, and consequently the suspension just. *Ecquis innocens erit, si accusare succerit?*

The particulars insisted upon, pickt and chosen out of that Sermon by the Vice-chancellour are three: every one a hainous charge, and the first founding little lesse then treason. Give me leave to read them, as Mr Vice-chancellour hath sent them in writing.

1. Our religious Sovereigne, and his pious Government, is seditiously defamed, as if his Majesty were little better then the old Pagan persecutors, or then *Queene Mary*.

2. The Government of the Church and Univerſity is unjustly traduced.

3. Men of learning and piety, conformable to the publick government, are uncharitably slandered.



The least of these being duly proved, will make him worthy of suspension: but if M. *Wilkinson* be guilty of the first he is not worthy to live. The truth is, the Vice-chancellor hath learned *audacter criminare*: and failing in prooffe, hath only fouled himselfe. Your Sub-committee, upon due consideration of the cause and circumstance, have hereupon unanimously voted, that M. *Wilkinson* is free from all and every of these exceptions, made against his Sermon by the Vice-chancellor. We are all of opinion that there is nothing therein that deserves *Notam censoris, nedum lituram judicis*.

If (M. *White*) there be in a Sermon, as there ought to be *aliquid mordacis veritatis*, shall the Preacher, be for this suspended? His mouth shut up for preaching truth boldly? It is contrary to their commission, for (Sir) they have a great Charter to speake freely: it is warranted unto them *jure divino*. Saint *Paul* doth owne it, in his instruction of *Timothy*,<sup>2 Tim. 4. 1,</sup> The words are, *I charge thee before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, preach the word, be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort* — For the time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine. Here is our case exactly. Here was reproofe; here was exhortation; here was preaching out of season, to unwilling or to unprepared hearers: and yet in season, the Theame, was necessary, and fitted to their want of zeale: But the only fault was, that *the time is come when sound Doctrine will not be endured*.

Thus the Committee found it: thus have I faithfully, but imperfectly, reported it, and do now subjoyn the opinion and request of your trustees to this grand Committee.

M. *Wilkinson* is innocent and free from this accusation. Hee had just cause to petition. The Vice-chancellor hath bene without cause, nay against cause, rigid and oppressive. The Sermon deserved thanks. The preacher received injuries. His suspension to be taken off: The retracting and dissolving whereof ought to bee as publike as was the inflicting thereof.

One word more I aske leave to add, and I hope I shall not therein erre from the sence of the Committee, though indeed I received it not in command to be joyned to the Report. This businesse, M. *White*, is spread into a wide and ample notice, two great Primats have appeared in it, and that with different, perhaps contrariant sences, sences as distant as *Lambeth* and *Armagh*. The Vice-chancellor saith, that *the Preacher was censured by the most Reverend Lord Primate of Ireland, who heard him, to be a bold or rash fellow for it*. Hereupon I attended that learned, pious, and painful Primate, and did read these words of the Vice-chancellor unto him. His answer was, that he takes it as an *Aspersio* upon him. He remembers the Sermon, and commends it.

This is an additionall to the Report, and with this I leave Mr. Vice-chancellor, and the Bishops Chaplen (*Fulham*) to the wisdome and consideration of this grand Committee.

## SECT. VII.

fr. D of C.

**M**Y next walke was in a hazardous way, and although it was not so lodg'd in my memory, as that in due season I could make use of it (as I intended) publikely in the House; yet being since gone forth without my appointment, into print, I doe now own it for my sence, untill I be better instructed, as I was promised long since, by a Cathedral friend of mine, but doe now despaire to see performed.

of. 8.4.

The Theam is, that secular jurisdiction ought not to be held by such as are of the Clergy function. *Εαυτοῖς ἐκομισσαται, &c.* They raigned to themselves (saith the Lord) and not by me: they have bin Princes, and I know it not. The words of that short passage were these.

Joh. 18. 36

Jo. 19. 11.

Mat. 17. 37

**O**ur Lord and Saviour (blessed for ever) being indeed a King, Pilate (his Judge) seemeth to start, and be in feare at that great title: Although our Saviour had told him, saying, (a) *My Kingdome is not of this world.* Pilate (still in feare) (b) *sought to release him*, but more in feare of Caesar (the King at that time of this world) he adjudged the Lord of life to death, yet honorably writeth his Title, (c) *This is Jesus King of the Jews.* This Title he then was crown'd withall, when life and death divided his soule and body asunder; that in a manner it may be said he never was a King indeed, untill he was out of this world.

Joh. 13. 13.

B. Hall  
scop. part.  
p. 106.

If he who was our (a) *Lord and Master*, had not this worlds royalty, whence cometh that the Pope is crowned? and his Cardinals in Purple? whence have our Bishops their Lordships? and as themselves call it (b) *fur a regali*, their royalty and rites of Baronage?

It may prove a disquisition deep and dangerous, yet I desire (without envy to their pomp or persons) to wade so far as may satisfie a minde that loves truth, and desires to be led by it: and this with all possible brevity. There hath been a happy and blessed reformation of our Church, God send a better and a more severe reformation of our Church-men, or else our Church is now in danger to be deformed againe.

The state of this inquiry may be this, *viz.* Whether the Ministers of Christs Kingdome may receive worldly titles, and execute worldly Offices and powers? or more generally thus: Whether a Clergy-man may *semel & simul*, be both a Clergy-man and a Layman, in power, office and authority over other men in both kinds?

Goe

"Go we to the fountaine head, (c) There was a strife among them (the  
 "Apostles) which of them should be accounted the greatest; which (c) Luk. 22. 24.  
 "of the twelve loever began this emulation of power. Certaine it  
 "is, that the two sonnes of Zebedee, James and John with their Mo- (b) Mar. 10. 20.  
 "ther, first presumed to come and aske the highest places of ho-  
 "nour (next to the very Throne) in the Kingdome of Christ; which  
 "Kingdome was conceived by them shortly after to bee raised in the  
 "splendor of this World. This is genuinely gathered from this ve-  
 "ry story, generally confessed, and clearly confirmed in the Histo-  
 "ry of the Acts, where the Apostles doe aske our Saviour, even  
 "after his resurrection, saying, (c) Lord wilt thou at this time restore (c) Acts 1. 6.  
 "again thy Kingdome to Israel? Therefore to these two bretheren  
 "and their mother, so much mistaken in the nature of his Kingdome  
 "he maketh answer, (a) Ye know not what you aske. He presently shew- (d) Mar. 10. 22.  
 "eth the entertainment of his Kingdome, *A cup to drinke of*, that  
 "many were like to pray *might passe from them*; but they answer  
 "they are able to drinke thereof. This their answer as it proved true  
 "in all the twelve Apostles, so by the providence of God, one  
 "of these two brothers, (e) James was the first of the rest (as some  
 "doe gather) who dranke the cup of Martyrdome, and as some (c) Act. 12. 1.  
 "thinke, John was the last of the Apostles.

"Equals looke awry on the ambition of their fellowes. These  
 "two were vaine in their high request, and the other ten murmured  
 "at their presumption, (f) They were moved with indignation, saith St. (f) Mar. 20. 24.  
 "Matthew (g) They began to be much displeased, saith Saint Mark. But (g) Mar. 10.  
 "by this happy error of these two Apostles, our Saviour takes oc- 41.  
 "casion to instruct them, and the other ten; and in them all other (i) Mar. 29.  
 "Ministers belonging unto him, how farre different the pastorall 25.  
 "care of his Church, is from the power which governeth in Com-  
 "mon-wealths.

"Hereupon the Sonne of God calleth unto him all the twelve (h) Mark 10.  
 "Apostles, saying, (f) Ye know that the Princes of the Gentiles exercise 24.  
 "dominion, &c. (g) Ye know that they which are accounted to rule over the (i) Luke 22.  
 "Gentiles exercise Lordships, &c. (h) The Kings of the Gentiles exercise 25.  
 "Lordships, &c. Οὐχ ὥτως ἢ ἐστέν ἐν ὑμῖν But it shall not be so among you. 28. (m) Mat. 20.  
 "This is a Satute not to be repealed. This is spoken authoritative & de- Mark 10. 45.  
 "finitive, it is the determinate Law of a just authority. A Canon or-  
 "dained and irrevocably fixed by the wisdom of God. Confirmed Luke 22. 22.  
 "by an example above all argument. (i) For the Son of Man came not to Mark 10. 24.  
 "be ministred unto, but to minister. (k) I am among you as he that serveth.  
 "And before this he had taught them, that the (l) Disciple is not above John 13. 15.  
 "his Master. (m) I have given you an example, that you shall doe as I 16.



"have done to you. verily, verily, the Servant is not greater then the Lord.

"This ministry being thus performed in humility, and without worldly titles, The Ministers shall be then exalted. Our blessed Saviour in expresse words following, saith unto them, (a) I appoint unto you a Kingdome (but addeth) as my Father hath appointed me. Now his owne Kingdome is spirituall, or as himselfe said unto Pilate, not of this World. Let them then renounce temporall, and they shall have spirituall honour. But some of the Clergy would (it seemes) confound both Kingdomes, being ambitious to inherit Glory in the Kingdome of Grace. I feare that there are some Bishops doe not know how subline a vertue Christian humility is; How full of Honour.

(b) Lu. 22.26. "Every πρεσβυτερος must be ὡς νεώτερος, (b) Let the greatest be as the youngest, that is the way to bee a right Elder, he must be ὡς δακρυον, (c) Lu. 22.27. "as he that serveth, that is the way to be ministred unto. He must be (d) Mat. 20.27. Mark 10. 14. "δουλος (d) a servant that he may be πρῶτος a prime or chiefe. He must (e) Mat. 20.26. "be δακρυον (e) a Minister, that he may be μέγας a great one. These antitheses our Saviour hath placed in the text upon the former occasion.

"From hence, may well be argued as a Corollary, to these undoubted promises, that no Minister of the Gospell can lawfully assume, hold, or exercise that power which by the Lord of the Gospell is inhibited to his Ministers. But our Saviour Jesus Christ (Lord and onely head of his Church) hath inhibited all temporall Lordship, Magistracy and Dominion unto his servants, in the lot of his Clergy. Therefore no Minister of this Gospell may hold or exercise temporall Lordship or Dominion.

"These words Οὐκ ἔστω; &c. I shall not be so among you, do so streighten the Bishops Miters, that they fit uneasie on their heads: to loosen and as it were to line them for their ease; the Bishops that are and would be all the papall, and some of the Protestant do quilt a gentler sence into these words then can beare analogy with the text. They search the originall and pretended to finde another sence in our Saviours sentence.

"The Text saies that the Lords of the Gentiles are called gracious Lords and ευεργεταί (not tyrants but) benefactors, a title fit for the best Princes. And yet this Text (say they) forbids not unto Clergy men, and use and exercise of worldly titles, power, offices, dignities, Commands, dominion, Lordships, &c. but the abuse of them: domineering and tyrannizing with them, not exercising and holding. This they pretend to make firme out of the

word *κατακυριεύειν* which they would have taken in the worst sense of "exorbitant power, even for Tyrannizing. So then, they would teach us, that, *Lord* it they may, and *Lord* it they may not: *Lord* it they may with all pompe, state, power; *Lord* it they may not, with pride, vanity, and oppression. But I shall easily prove this interpretation to be inconsistent with the scope and analogy of the Context.

"Will they frame their argument from the verbe *κυριεύειν* to be a Lord, or to rule? or from the proposititon *καὶ* added and united thereunto? neither will serve. And if the pompe of our Prelates cannot avoid the power of this text, they are downe for ever. Let me therefore scan it it to the full.

"First, *Κυριεύειν* to be a Lord, or to have rule or Lordship, is never properly taken in that ill sence which they would heere create, as having unjust, and oppressive power. It is derived from the usuall and most frequent title of our Lord and Saviour, whom the holy Scripture so often saluteth *Κύριε* Lord, here is no shadow for Tyranny.

"The true sence of *κύριε* is *authoritatem habens* one having authority; being derived from *ῥέου* authority which is knowne to bee approved and ordained by God himselve from whom all lawfull authority is derived. Marke how well this word is senced through all Authors: *Demosthenes* calleth the heads and chiefe of the Citie *Τὰ ῥέια τῶ πόλεω*. A law in force and principall authority is called by *Aeschines* *ῥέια* *τίμη* *Γαλλέν* calleth the chiefe and principall members of a mans body *κυριώτατα μὲν τὸ σώματι* yet one member doth not tyrannize over another. *Aristotle* hath (a) *Κυρία ἀρετή* *propria virtus*, (that (a) *Eth. i. 6.* is,) a vertue properly or principally so called, *Αὐτοῦ* is one that is Lord or Master of himselve, not one that domineers over himselve.

*Κυριακή ἡμέρα* (b) *The Lords day*. *Κυριακὸν δεῖπνον* *The Lords Supper*. (c) (b) *apoc. i. 10*

"S. Paul saith that (d) *The law hath dominion over a man so long as he liveth*, (c) *1 Cor. 11. 21.*

he doth not meane that the Law is a Tyrant, yet the word is *ὁ ὅμι* (d) *Rom. 1. 7*

*κυριεύει* Christ both dyed, and rose, and revived, that he might (e) *bee* (e) *Rom. 14*

Lord both of the living and the dead: *καὶ νεκρῶν καὶ ζώντων κυριεύσῃ* From *Κυρία*

Lord, commeth *Κυριότης* Lordship, foure times mentioned by the holy Apostles, but never taxed as a power tending to Tyranny, but to be

obeyed in them who duly are therewith invested, as may be seene, *Eph. 1. 21. Colos. 1. 16. 2 Pet. 2. 10. and Jude 8.* Clearly then in *κυριεύειν*

there is no print of usurpation or of oppressive and tyrannicall power, If there be, we are then well warned to beware of our Bishops, who not onely owne the title *Κύριε*, but expressly plead for it, as the (f) Bishop of Exeter in his late *Episcopacy*. Part. 2. p. 104

"Secondly, *κατακυριεύειν* the very word (used by Saint Matthew and

“forbiddeth his Apostles to exercise Dominion or Lordship is a compounded word of two, *καὶ* and *κρείδω*. That is, to rule as one that hath authority. I may render it to be, or to behave ones selfe (*juxta secundum*) according as one that hath authority.

“This proposition in words compounded hath sometimes a signification of his owne, sometimes none at all, as in *καταδυναστω*, &c, clearly it hath no speciall signification in this *κατακρείδω*; much lesse a force so exegetically as to draw the lawfull power of *κρείδω* into the exorbitancie of a tyranny. That it hath no force here, is by this apparent, for that the speech of our Saviour recorded by the holy Ghost in St. *Matth.* and St. *Marke* by *κατακρείδω* and by *κατέξουλαζεν* are rendered by the same spirit in Saint *Luke*, *κρείδω* and *ἐξουλαζεν*. So that plainly you must not pretend tyrannizing to be meant in the sense of one place, except you can finde it also in both, unlesse you will come to this, that he forbiddeth tyranny in one place, and worldly power in the other, which if you doe, you grant the question.

“This is enough alone: yet for a further interpretation of *κατακρείδω*, look in *Gen. 1. 28.* where God giveth unto man in the time of mans innocency, the rule and dominion over all his creatures, even whilest they all were (*a very good*. The name and word of power in that great Charter granted is *κατακρείδω*. Now the time of this power granted the person to whom it is granted, the creatures all good on whom it was to be exercised, and above all, the goodnesse of Almighty God who granted it, do exclude all imagination of a tyrannical power, and admit onely of a fatherly mastership over the new creatures of God.

“The same word is used againe (*Psal. 110. 2.*) and there applied to our blessed Saviour *κατακρείδω ἐν μέλει σου ἐχθρούς σου*, Rule thou in the midst of thine enemies. *Aquila* hath *ἐμμεγέται* Invalesce, prevaile over thy enemies. *Symmachus*, *ὅτι ὁ παῖς σου*, doe thou correct or instruct thine enemies.

“If then the frequent and constant sense of both *κρείδω* and *κατακρείδω*, be onely to have power and authority, civill, temporall, and ordinary dominion, and that all such authority is forbidden them, how poore and weake is that evasion for our Bishops, who would have this speech of our Saviour taken in a forced sense different from all these other places? and would forge a new meaning, as if our Saviour did not here forbid *κρείδω* and *κατακρείδω*, but onely *κατακράζω* & *κράζω*, not a commanding Lordlinesse, but a tyrannous use of it; when as it is hereby evident, that Christ having ordained the Aristocracy of twelve, did therein and in his reprehension here take away those severall branches of honour, and that proud imparity of temporall power which our Bishops doe swell withall.



"That the former speeches of our Saviour, do destroy the Lordlines  
 of our Prelates, let us confirm it with a farther consideration, which is  
 thus. Our Saviour *Christ* being (a) *the wisdom of God*, must be thought  
 to fit and suit his answer to the question and request made unto him  
 by the two Apostles. But what Bishop in defence of his usurped pow-  
 er, dares affirme that two such admirable (b) *Pillars*, as *James* and *Iohn*,  
 should aske of such a Master *iniquam dominationem*, a cruell domini-  
 on over their fellowes, as if the meaning of their request were thus.  
 Master, give us two leave to tyrannize over the other ten ! Hee had  
 taught them before, (c) *Blessed are the meeke*, and (d) *Learn of me*, for  
*I am meeke and lowly in heart* : Can it then be thought that the beloved  
 Disciple and his brother, shall aske of the Master of all humility, a  
 tyrannicall power to oppresse their partners ? No man hath such a  
 heart of Lead to thinke, yet there have not wanted foreheads of brasse  
 to affirme so : Certainly, in that Kingdome of Christ, by them as then  
 supposed to be temporall, they desired the honour to shine in civill  
 dignity, and eminency of power and authority, which (no question)  
 they intended to have exercised with all brotherly moderation, yet  
 are they (and I wish our Bishops also were) answered with his repre-  
 hension, first, (e) *Ye know not what ye aske*, next with his absolute denyall  
 and forbidance, *ἡ ἡγεμονία ἐστὶν, &c. It shall not be so among you.*

(a) 1 Cor. 1.  
24.

(b) Gal. 2. 9.

(c) Mat. 5. 5.

(d) Mat. 23. 12.

(e) Cor. 1. 2. 4.

"Will the practice of Saint Paul, and the counsell of S. Peter serve  
 for comment to this text ? S. Paul saith *ἡ κυριεύουμέν, We Lord it not.*  
 S. Peter himsele an Elder to other Elders, exhorteth them to feed the  
 flocke, *ἐπισκοποῦντες* overseeing it : and that not by *constraint*, *μὴ δ' ὡς*  
*ἀναγκασθόντες*, nor as being Lords.

1 Pet. 5.

"Therefore my resolution stands cleare upon this vote ; That it may  
 be declared that true and right Episcopacy is uncompatible and in-  
 constant with the authority of a secular jurisdiction.

"They who give in their names to bee labourers in Gods Vineyard  
 must not goe out of the doore, and think to returne at pleasure : their  
 whole time they have vowed to the great Master of the Vineyard, and  
 I find no wages promised but to them who enter and continue there  
 to the last hour. (g) *No man putting his hand to the plough and looking*  
*backe, is fit for the Kingdome of God.*

(g) Luke 9.  
62.

"Let therefore this inhibitory Statute against Bishops holding the  
 secular jurisdiction of temporall Lordships, stand, as it must stand,  
 irrepealeable *οὐχ ἡ τὸ ἐστὶν ἐν ὑμῖν. It shall not be so among you.*

Thus by vouching a divine Statute that Bishops should not be Lords.  
 I doe plainly involve my selfe in this conclusion, that Bishops are and

P 347.

Ep. 57.

God forbid that we should destroy the function of Episcopacy, but God grant we may (with his Majesties leave) un-Lord them from a domineering power: For to my sence, *Synesius* doth very well deliver himself, *Συνάπτειν τὴν βασιλείαν τῇ ἱερωσῶν, συγκλᾶν ἐστὶ τὰ ἀσυνκλᾶ.* To conjoyne the principality with the Priesthood, is to close together things inconsistent. And againe, *ἢ δὲ συνάπτειν περὶ τὰ κεχωρισμένα παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ.* Why doe you endeavour to joyne those things that are separated by God?

In this opinion I may receive as little thanks from the Prelates, as I find full satisfaction in my owne bosome.

## Section. VIII.

**V**Pon thursday May 21. I subjected my selfe to the obloquie I suffer. The Bill for *Abolition* of our present Episcopacy was pressed into my hand by *S. A. H.* (being then brought unto him by *S. H. N.* and *O. C.*)

He told me he was resolved that it should go in, but was earnestly urgent that I would present it, The Bill did hardly stay in my hand so long as to make a hasty perusal. Whilst I was overviewing it, *Sir Edward Aiscongh* delivered in a Petition out of *Lincolneshire*, which was seconded by *M. Strode* in such a sort as that I had a faire invitemment to issue forth the Bill then in my hand. Hereupon I stood up and said this which immediately after I reduced into writing.

Mr. Speaker,

**T**He Gentleman that spake last taking notice of the multitude of complaints and complainants against the present government of the Church, doth somewhat seeme to wonder that wee have no more pursute ready against the persons offending. *Sir*, the time is present, and the worke is ready, perhaps beyond his expectation.

*Sir*, I am now the instrument, to present unto you, a very short (but a very sharp) Bill: such as these times and their sad necessities have brought forth. It speakes a free language, and makes a bold request. It is a purging Bill.

I give it you, as I take Physick, not for delight, but for a cure. A cure now, the last and onely cure, if (as I hope) all other remedies have first been tried. Then — *Immedicabile vulnus, &c.* But *Cum illa prius tentanda*—

I never was for *Ruine*, so long as I could hold any hope of *Reforming*. My hopes that way, are even almost withered.

This Bill is intituled: *An Act for the utter abolishing and taking away of all Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors, and Commissioners, Deanes, Deanes and Chapters, Arch-deacons, Prebendaries, Chanters*

"Sir, you see, their demerits have exposed them *Publici odii piaculum* *laes victimas*. I am sorry they are so ill, I am more sorry that they will not be content to be bettered, which I did hope would have been effected by our last Bill.

"When this Bill is perfected, I shall give a sad I unto it. And at the delivery is thereof, I doe now professe before hand, that if my former hopes of a full Reformation may yet revive and prosper; I will againe divide my sence upon this Bill, and yeeld my shoulders to underprop the primitive, lawfull, and just *Episcopacy*: yet so, as that I will never be wanting with my utmost pains and prayer to *Root out* all the undue adjuncts to it, and *superstructures* on it.

*I beseech you read the Bill, and weigh well the worke.*

This is the neereft Act that ever I have done for *Abolition*: and if I suffer for this, it is altogether undeservedly: For my profession here is to *Root out all undue adjuncts and superstructures*, but to *underprop the Primitive Episcopacy*. And (as before I said) a little addition to this Bill might have given us a good *Reformation*: Take away the present Diocesses, but state forth the future, in the same Bill. The heads of which forme shall anon be presented to you.

*Section. I X.*

The next passage of this nature was upon the same Bill, whilst it stood (as yet it stands) in Commitment to the whole House, Mr. Hyde excellent well discharging that Chaire. And this was the first which was distasted abroad. Many have importuned me for copies, but I have yet issued none out of my hand, though it were spoken above seven months since.

*M. Hyde,*

21. 7<sup>th</sup> Jan. 1641.

"You have here a Bill, but such a one as is likely to be short-liv'd and not grow into a perfect Act, unlesse you please to add thereunto some very important, very significant *provisos*, such wherein we may have, or wherby we may be assured in another Bill to have a future government, in roome of this that goes out. I am confident the Lords will otherwise debate and dispute your Bill quite out of doors.

"Sir, we are all bound unto the goodnesse of his sacred Majelty (God preserve him and his for it) none of all our Bills, none of our Petitions (this Parliament) have miscarried in his royall hand, but have beene all compleated with the Royall assent.

"But the Ambition of some of our Prelates, will not let them see how incompatible two severall contradiistinguished functions are in one and the same person: And therefore there is left you neither *Root* nor *Branch* of that so good, so necessary a Bill, which lately we did



“What sparke of hope can we then have, that this Bill, which  
 “strikes at *Root and Branch*, both of their Seats of Justice there, and of  
 “their Episcopall Chaires in the Church will passe (as it is, and with-  
 “out tender of some other government in lieu of this) since the voices  
 “are still the same, which outed your former Bill.

“Truly (I professe) my hopes are sad in this : never had one Parlia-  
 “ment so many great affaires, never had any Par. any affaire so great as  
 “this which we call *the Bill of Episcopacy*. Certaine (*Sir,*) it is the great  
 “hope, or the exceeding feare of every man here, and of all men abroad.

“Many a time this Parliament I have heard (and not unjustly) that  
 “the businesse then in hand was of as great consequence as any had  
 “been agitated within these walls.

“But in truth (*Sir,*) to my apprehension, neither Star-Chamber,  
 “nor High Commission, nor Shipmoney, nor *Straffords* death, nor *Cen-*  
 “*terburys* life, are (with me) equivalent, to the settling or unsetting of  
 “the whole Nationall Church of this Kingdome.

“We cannot answer to God or man, if we doe not use our best and  
 “most vigorous endeavors for the peace of the Church we live in.

“I should think this a happy day, if we could so temper this Bil, that  
 “it might walk fairly on through the House of Lords unto the King.

“To this end, (and that we may not loose all, by asking more then  
 “all) I will be bold to offer to your consideration, a provisionall ad-  
 “dition or two. Such as (I hope) may both satisfie us and scoure our  
 “Bill, by fit amendments.

*Here was a little interception, and then a long additionall to the Bill  
 presented in writing, for putting all Church-government into the  
 hands of Commissioners in every Diocese. I proceeded.*

This was so at  
 first, though  
 afterward it  
 was resolved  
 that no Cler-  
 gy man but  
 only Lay-men  
 should bee  
 Commis-  
 sioners.

“*Sir,* there is now offered unto you, a large add tion to your Bill,  
 “longer (indeed) by far then the Bill it selfe. It seemes to desire, that  
 “a proportionall number of Clergy and Laity, may be commissioned  
 “together, for all Ecclesiasticke jurisdiction, untill a future govern-  
 “ment be resolved on.

“I must confesse, I am not satisfied with this way of Commissioners;  
 “it would joy me much and satisfie me more, if as one government  
 “goes out, I could see another come in, and that without an *Inter-reg-*  
 “*num* of Commissioners.

“We are resolved that the present way of government is unsuffe-  
 “able, let it goe, but let us have another. This I conceive to be feasible,  
 “and that in fewer lines, fewer words, then this additionall increment  
 “now offered to your Bill; which in truth will make me like your Bill

"To this purpose, I do lay this ground : A Church Government we must have. This is (within these walls for ought I hear) on all hands agreed upon : and then (by unavoydable necessity) this Government must be distributed into parts, into certain limits, circuits and divisions of places, wherein it is to be exercised.

"Unto this being granted, I do subjoyn three propositions, and they are these :

"First, Our present Diocesses are (for the most part) much too large, too vast ; I desire therefore, That the circuit for future Church Government, may be reduced to the common boundaries and limits of our severall Shires. The disproportion from thence objected shall be easily answered.

"Secondly, Next, in every of these divisions, I desire that some choice, able, grave Divines (twelve or more in a Shire) may be by the Parliament appointed, to be in the nature of an old primitive constant Presbytery among us.

"Thirdly and Lastly, Because all meetings of many must be disorderly, and the rule of many cannot be without confusion, unlesse there be one to guide and direct the rest. I shall desire that in every shire, over every Presbytery, we may establish one President.

"A President (I say) more to satisfie others then my self. The name of Bishop disturbs not me ; let him be a Bishop, or an Over-seer, or a President, or a Moderator, or a Super-intendent, or a Ruling-elder ; call him what you will, so as you provide me one in every shire, over every Presbytery, to guide and to direct the rest.

"The different sence (to be easily observed) and I hope not past our strength to be reconciled, in this House, concerning our present Church-Government is twofold. One is for Ruine thereof, the other for Re-forming : both are neerer together in heart (I perswade my self) then we are yet aware of. The neerer the better, and more easie composure both of our own selves here, and of the Churches peace throughout the Land abroad. God send that we may finde the way to peace.

"If the right form of primitive Episcopacy were truly stated forth unto us, it would (questionlesse) take and lead our judgements along therewith.

"This Bishop was not so much a Lord as a Father over his charge, ruling with love and tender bowels ; whosoever did institute this Episcopacy, sure I am, this Bishop hath, and ever had, a precedency before, and a presidency over others of his own order.

"He was one man chosen out among the rest, and by the rest put into a

“severall degree (not into a distinct superiour Order) above the rest  
 “*εἰς τὸ ἐπισκοπεῖν ad Episcopandum* to oversee the rest: and this only in  
 “matters spirituall, nothing at all in affairs temporall, or secular employ-  
 “ments.

“If this Bishop were not of *Apostolicall institution*, yet it is undeniable  
 “that he was of *Apostolicall permission*. For, of and in the *Apostolicall* times,  
 “all stories, all Fathers, all ages have agreed, that such Bishops there were.

“His rule indeed was with consent of his Senate, his Presbytery; *Dis-  
 “rection* was his, *Coercion* was still their own.

“He had *προεδριαν*, yea and *πρεσβυτιαν*, both the first place of sitting, and  
 “the chiefeft part of power: I say the *chiefeft part*, I do not say, the *greatest*  
 “part of power. The power, it was more eminent in him, but it was vir-  
 “tually residing and domesticant in the plurality of his Assessors.

“These Assessors were the Presbyters, the Elders of the Church, of  
 “whom holy *Ignatius* (a Father so primitive, that he was Disciple to Saint  
 “*Iohn* the Apostle, and by some thought to be that very childe (whilst he  
 “was a childe) whom our blessed Saviour took and set before his Disciples,

uth. 18. “whereof you read in three of the Evangelists. This *Ignatius* (I say) in

rk 9.26 “his Epistle to the *Trallians* doth call these Elders, *συμβούλους, καὶ συνεδρευόντας*  
 “*τῶ ἐπισκόπου*, The Counsellors and Co-Assessors of the Bishop.

9.27. “Here was in this age (and yet this father died a Bishop and a Martyr  
 “before the last Apostle went to Heaven) here was a fellowship, yet such  
 “a fellowship as destroyed not presidency: and in another Epistle (that  
 “to the *Magnesians*) you have such a presidency as doth admit also of a  
 “fellowship. The words are, *Προκαθεύουσιν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ εἰς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ ἡμεῖς*  
 “*πρεσβυτέρων, εἰς τὸν συνεδεῖν ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπων*. The Bishop being President (the  
 “very name and office there) as in the place of God, and the Presbyters as a  
 “Senate of Apostles.

“I forbear to dilate upon this Episcopacy. But I will behold, *Pouere*  
 “*ab oculos* to set him before your eyes. I will give him you, even by way  
 “of demonstration.

“Master *Hilde*, your self are now in this great Committee, Mr *Speaker*  
 “is in the house, The Bishop of our Congregation.

“You are in your selves but fellow-members of the same house with us,  
 “returned hither (as we also are) to sit on these benches with us: untill  
 “by our election and by common suffrage, you are *Incathedrated*: then  
 “you have (and it is fit and necessary, that you should have) a *precedency*  
 “before us, and a *Precedency* over us.

“Notwithstanding this, you are not diversified into a severall distinct  
 “order from us (you must not swell with that conceit) you are still the  
 same



“same member of the same house you were, though raised to a painfull  
“and a carefull degree among us, and above us.

“This Bishop had (as your self have here) *potestatem directivam*, but  
“not *Correctivam*. Correction in our house doth dwell in the generall  
“Vote.

“You know the power you have is limited, and circumscribed by them  
“who gave it; you are no Dictator to prescribe us our Laws; but must  
“gather our Votes: and then your pronouncing doth fix our (not your  
“own single) Orders.

“Neither you here, (nor Master *Speaker* in the House) can *Degrade* any  
“one of us from these Seats, nor can you *silence* us in the due liberty of  
“our Speech.

“Truly (Sir) as yet advised, I do heartily wish we had in every Shire  
“of England, a Bishop such and so regulated for Church-Government  
“within that Sphear, as Master *Speaker* is bounded in and limited, by the  
“rules and cancels of this House.

“That were (indeed) a well tempered and a blessed Reformation,  
“whereby our times might be approximant, and conformant to the Apo-  
“stolicall and pure primitive Church.

“But this (I fear) is *magis optandum quam sperandum*: yet it being the  
“cause of God, who can then despair?

“This happinesse (I mean living under *Episcopall Presidency*, not under  
“a *domineering Prelacy*) this is too high above our reach, yet strong pray-  
“ers, and hearty endeavours may pull the blessing down upon us: In the  
“mean time, wo is our Churches portion, for our *Bishop President* is lost,  
“and grown a stranger to us, and in his room is crept in, and stept up a  
“*Lordly Prelate*, made proud with pomp and ease, who neglecting the  
“best part of his office in Gods Vineyard, instead of *supporting the weak*,  
“and *binding up the broken*, forrageth the Vines, and drives away other  
“labourers. The Vines indeed have both Grapes and Leaves, and Religi-  
“ous acts both substance and circumstance, but the Gardener is much too  
“blame, who gives more charge to the workmen of the leaves, then of the  
“fruit.

“This rough enforcement (of late) to that which is not the better part:  
“is an Episcopacy that turns all our melody into a Threnody: This makes  
“many poor, pious, Christian souls to *sing the songs of Sion in a strange* Psal  
“Land. 3. an

“This Bishop will have no Assessors (or if any, so formally admitted,  
“and so awed, as good have none) no Senate, no Consultation, no Pres-  
“bytery or common Suffrage: but elates himself up into usurped titles,

“and incompatible power, and sublimes it self by assuming a *sole*ship both  
“in *Orders* and *Censures*.

“Religion and reason, and Primitive example are all loud against this  
“Episcopacy.

“This too elate subliming of one can not stand without a too mean  
“demission (I may say debasing) of many other of the same order. Nay  
“this Bishop not content with Ecclesiastick pride alone, will swell also,  
“with ambition and Offices secular.

“Truly (Sir) you have done exceeding well to *Vote* away this Bishop;  
“for of this Bishop (and of this alone) I must understand the *Vote* you  
“have passed, untill I be better instructed: For your *Vote* is against the  
“present Episcopacy, and for the present: you can hardly finde any other  
“Episcopacy but this; an authority how ever by some of them better ex-  
“ercised, yet too solely entrusted to them all.

“Away then with this Lordly domineerer who playes the Monarch  
“(perhaps the Tyrant) in a Diocesse: of him it is of whom I read, *Epis-*  
“*copalis dignitas papalem fastum redolet*. This kinde of Episcopacy it smells  
“rank of the Papacy: nor shall you ever be able, utterly and absolutely  
“to extirpate Popery, unlesse you ~~root~~ out this *sole*ship of Episcopacy.

“To conclude in short and plain English, I am for abolishing of our  
“present Episcopacy. Both Diocesses and Diocesan as now they are. But  
“I am withall (at the same time) for restauration of the pure Primitive  
“Episcopall Presidency. Cut off the usurped adjuncts of our present  
“Episcopacy, reduce the ancient Episcopacy, such as it was, *in puris spiri-*  
“*tualibus*. Both may be done with the same hand, and I think in a shorter  
“Bill then is offered now by way of addition.

“Down then with our *Prelaticall Hierarchie*, or *Hierarchicall Prelacy*  
“(such as now we have) most of it consisting in temporall adjuncts only;  
“the *Diana* and the Idoll of proud and lazy Church-men. This do, but  
“*ea lege*, on this condition, that with the same hand, in the same Bill, we  
“do gently raise again (even from under the ruines of that *Babel*) such an  
“Episcopacy, such a Presidency, as is venerable in its antiquity and puri-  
“ty, and most behoovefull for the peace of our Christendom.

“This is the way of *Reforming*: and thus by yeelding to the present storm,  
“and throwing that over-board which is adventitious, borrowed, and  
“undue; Peace may be brought home unto our Church again, the best  
“of that building and the truth of ancient Episcopacy may be preserved:  
“otherwise we hazard all.”

“This would be glorious for us, and for our Religion: and the glory  
“thereof will be the greater, because it redounds unto the God of glory.

"My motion is, That those sheets last presented to you, may be laid  
"by, and that we may proceed to reduce again the old originall Episc-  
"copacy.

This being thus delivered, and upon report being mis-presented a-  
broad, a stranger came to me the next day, and with much shew of love  
and sorrow, told me, that I had lost (by this speech) the prayers of  
thousands in the Citie. Very many others have since been with me to  
try my temper, but I have found in them all (all that are absolutely  
Anti-Episcopall) so much more often treaty then of argument, that in-  
deed they have proved themselves as Bishops unto me, for I have received  
Confirmation from them.



## Section X.

**S**INCE the late Recess, some endeavours of mine have  
been reported more distastive then before: insomuch  
as that, a lying generation gave it forth, some, that I was  
expelled the House, others that I was in the Tower, for  
what I had spoken.

The first passage was next morning after our meeting,  
upon occasion then offered by way of complaint, for not  
obeying the late Order of the eight of *September*. The  
complaint came from some Parishioners of *Cripplegate*.  
And thus I did on the sudden then deliver my self, which  
presently I reduced into writing.

21. *Octob.* 1641.

*M. Speaker,*

"IT is very true (as is instanced unto you) that your late order and  
"I declaration of the eighth and ninth of *September*, are much debated  
"and disputed abroad: perhaps it may be a good occasion for us to re-  
"dispute them here.



“The intent of your Order, to me, seems doubtfull, and therefore  
 “I am bold, for my own instruction, humbly to propound two  
 “Quæres.

“ 1. How farre an Order of this House is binding ?

“ 2. Whether this particular Order be continuant or expired ?

“ Your Orders (I am out of doubt) are powerfull, if they be ground-  
 “ded upon the Laws of the Land. Upon that warrant, we may by an  
 “Order, enforce any thing that is undoubtedly so grounded: and by  
 “the same rule we may abrogate whatsoever is introduced contrary to  
 “the undoubted foundation of our Laws,

“ But Sir, this Order is of another nature, another temper: espe-  
 “cially in one part of it. Of which (in particular) at some other time.

“ Sir, There want not some abroad, men of birth, quality, and  
 “Fortunes; such as know the strength of our Votes here as well as some  
 “of us (I speak my own infirmities) men of the best worth, and of good  
 “affiance in us, and no way obnoxious to us: They know they sent us  
 “hither as their Trustees, to make and unmake Laws. They know they  
 “did not send us hither to rule and govern them by arbitrary, revocable  
 “and disputable Orders: especially in Religion: No time is fit for that,  
 “and this time as unfit as any. I desire to be instructed herein.

“ Mr Speaker, In the second place, there is a question, whether this  
 “Order (whereupon your present complaint is grounded) be permanent  
 “and binding, or else expired, and by our selves deserted.

“ I observe, that your Order being made the eighth of September,  
 “in hope then of concurrence therein by the Lords; that failing, you  
 “did issue forth your last resolution by way of declaration the ninth of  
 “September, wherein thus you expresse your self. ——— *That it may*  
 “*well be hoped, when both Houses shall meet again, that the good propositions*  
 “*and preparations in the House of Commons, for preventing the like grievan-*  
 “*ces, and reforming the disorders and abuses in matter of Religion, may be*  
 “*brought to perfection: wherefore you do expect that the Commons of this*  
 “*Realm do in the mean time* — (What? obey and perform your Order  
 “made the day before? No such thing: but in the mean time) — *quietly*  
 “*attend the Reformation intended.*

“ These are your words, and this my doubt upon them: whether  
 “by these words you have not superseded your own Order. Sure I am,  
 “the words do bear this sence, and good men may think and hope it was  
 “your meaning.

“ My humble motion therefore is this: I beseech you to declare, that  
 “upon this our Re-convention, your order of the eighth of September

“is out of date : And that the Commons of *England* must (as you say )  
 “quietly attend the Reformation intended, which certainly is intended to be  
 “perfected up into Acts of Parliament. And in the mean time that  
 “they must patiently endure the present Laws, untill you can make  
 “new, or mend the old.



Section XI.

**T**He promise made ( in my last ) hath not been performed in the House, nor is now like to be. The reason is, There is now no probability that we shall debate the validity of our Order of the eighth of September. A day indeed ( Saturday the sixth of November ) was by Order fixed for that theam, but other affairs diverted it. To discharge my promise aforesaid, I was then ready with freedom to have unbofomed my self, as in this following discourse : but that order being expired, and not revived, though moved for ; I ask pardon if I do interpose here that which was prepared for that day. Excuse me, *Reader*, if I be willing fully to expose my self to the utmost : The truth of my heart desires some friendly help to set me right, if I be in any error. I am sorry that I am prevented of publishing this in the House.

*Master Speaker,*

“**M**E thinks I am now going to walk upon the ridge of a house, a  
 “dangerous præcipice on either hand. On the one side I must  
 “take heed that I speak neither more nor lesse than the inward dictate of  
 “my own conscience : on the other hand I shall be afraid to presume  
 “above your better judgements. My path is narrow : I must look to  
 “my footing : *Dixi custodiam vias meas, &c.* I said I will look to my  
 “ways, that I offend not in my tongue. Thus I preface, because I fore-  
 “know that I shall speak to the dislike of some worthy Members of this  
 “honorable House.

“Sir, Two questions are before us : First in generall, how farre an  
 “Order of this House is binding *de foris*, not upon our own Members  
 “here, but upon the people, the Kings subjects abroad. Secondly, the  
 “validity and invalidity of your particular Order of the eighth, and  
 “Declaration of the ninth of September last.

“For the first I am clear in this opinion, That we may enforce any  
 “thing that is undoubtedly grounded upon the law of the Land : Shew  
 “me

“me that foundation, and I will concur with you in any resolution.  
 “We may also declare against any thing that is introduced contrary to  
 “our Laws. Farther than this I know no way, unlesse it be by Bill :  
 “and then I know no limitation, no bound. Thus in brief for the gene-  
 “rall, I come now to your particular Order.

“Master Speaker, I shall be afraid to arraigne your Orders : I have  
 “already been controlled, (not for doing so, but as if I had done so) yet  
 “(Sir) I have often heard it in this House, that *we are masters of our*  
 “*own Orders* : and then (I think) we may in this place arraigne them,  
 “that is, question them, try them, approve, alter, reject, or condemne  
 “them. Was not our Protestation more sacred than an Order ? yet  
 “that was revised, and (to stop some objections) new fenced by us.  
 “And I take it lawfull in this place to arraigne (if that be the word)  
 “even an Act of Parliament, and then (*a fortiori*) an Order of this  
 “House.

“Surely (Sir) I shall speak reverently of all your Orders when I am  
 “abroad : I have done so of this. I am resolved that my obedience shall  
 “therein be found good, although my particular reason be rebellant  
 “to your conclusions. This is my duty abroad : but here in this  
 “House, within these walls, freedome is my inheritance, and give me  
 “leave (I pray) at this time to use a part of my Birth-right.

“The seasonableness, and the equity of your Order, both are con-  
 “troverted. You all know that this is a dangerous time to make any  
 “determinations in matter of Religion : whether it be in the doctri-  
 “nall, or in the practicall part of Gods Worship. Men are (now a  
 “dayes) many of them more wise, and some of them more wilfull than  
 “in former times. The use and caution is this : Let us take care that  
 “what we do, we do with due and full authority ; I would have nothing  
 “new (in this kinde) but by authority of the three Estates : and even  
 “then let us be wary that we suit the times with applications proper and  
 “seasonable.

“Hear me with patience, and refute me with reason. Your com-  
 “mand is, That all *corporall bowing at the Name Jesus*—be henceforth  
 “forborn.

“I have often wished that we might decline these dogmaticall  
 “resolutions in Divinity : I say it again and again, That we are  
 “not *Idonei & competentes iudices* in doctrinall determinations :  
 “The theam we are now upon is a sad point, I pray consider severely  
 “on it.

“You know there is *a no other name under heaven given among*  
 “men,



men whereby we must be saved. You know that this is <sup>b</sup> a name above <sup>b</sup> *every name*, <sup>c</sup> *Obiunctum nomen ejus*, it is the Carroll of his owne <sup>9</sup> Spouse. This name is by a Father stiled *Mel in ore, melos in aure, jubilum in corde*. This, it is the sweetest and the fullest of comfort of all the Names <sup>3</sup> and Attributes of God, *God my Saviour*. If Christ were not our JESVS, Heaven were then our Envie, which is now our blessed hope.

"And must I Sir, hereafter do no exterior reverence, none at all, to God my Saviour, at the mention of his saving Name *Iesus*? why Sir, not to do it, to omit it, and to leave it undone, it is questionable; it is controvertible: it is at least a moot point in Divinity. But to deny it, to forbid it to be done: take heed Sir, God will never own you, if you forbid his honour. Truly Sir, it horrors me to think of this.

"For my part, I do humbly ask pardon of this House, and thereupon I take leave and liberty to give you my resolute resolution. I may, I must, I will do bodily reverence unto my Savior, and that upon occasion taken at the mention of his saving Name *JESUS*. And if I should do it also as oft as the name of *God*, or *Iehovah*, or *Christ* is named in our solemn devotions, I do not know any argument in Divinity to controll me.

"M. Speaker, I shall never be frightened from this, with that fond, shallow Argument: Oh you make an *Idoll of a Name*. I beseech you Sir, paint me a voice, make a sound visible if you can: when you have taught mine ears to see, and mine eyes to hear, I may then perhaps understand this subtle argument. In the meantime reduce this dainty species of new *Idolatry*, under its proper head, ( the second commandment ) if you can, And if I find it there, I will flye from it *ultra Sauramasas* any whither with you.

"The words are there, *Thou shalt not make to thy self any graven Image, or any likeness of any thing ( ullius rei ) that is in Heaven -- or in Earth --* Can you here find the Name of God in this description of *Idolizing*? Surely Sir, my Saviour is neither *γλυπτον* nor *ὀμολογια* of any thing there forbidden, nor *ἱερον* neither *Sculptile*, nor *Simulacrum*, nor *Idolum*. All these are here, and none but these, and every of these doth signifie *Spectrum aliquod*, some visible object. And must do so, for to speak properly, an *Idol* invisible, is but imaginary *Non-sence*. When you can bring the object of one sence, to fall under the notion and distinguishment of another sence; so that the eye may as well see a Name, or sound, as the eare can hear it: then a name may be the object of *Idolatry*: till then, this Argument will be too sublime for my understanding.

"God was neither in the strong and mighty wind, nor in the Earthquake

“certainly is beyond the curious Art of man to expresse, and consequently  
 “free from all possible perill of Idolatry. And therefore thus in *Dent*. God  
 “doth character himself. *Ye heard the voice of the words, but saw no multitude*  
 ut. 4. 12. “*onely ye heard a voice*. As if he should say, I know you prone unto Idola-  
 “try: *but now commit Idolatry to a voice, to a sound, to a name if you can*.

“I am grieved to see that wretched, unlearned, and ungodly Pamphlet,  
 “ascribed to Mr. *Burton*, with that daring impious title *Jesu-worship*: con-  
 “futed: where by way of a scornfull Sarcasme, he is not afraid (as with  
 “a Nick-name) to call Christians *Jesu-worshippers*.

“I return, M. *Speaker*, this (as I said) is a sad point in Divinity, to forbid  
 “exterior worship unto God. Was it ever heard before, that any men of  
 “any religion in any age did ever cut short and abridge any worship upon  
 “any occasion to their God? Take heed Sir, and let us all take heed whi-  
 “ther we are going. If Christ be J E S U S, if J E S U S be God, all reve-  
 “rence (*exterior as well as interior*) is too little for him. I hope we are not  
 “going up the back-staires to *Socinianisme*.

“In a word, Sir, I shall never obey your order, so long as I have a hand  
 “to lift up to heaven, so long as I have an eye to lift up to heaven. *For these*  
 “*are corporall bowings, and my Saviour shall have them at his name J E S U S*.

“Yet Sir, before I end, give me leave (I beseech you) to take off that,  
 “which by mistake may else stick still upon me. I never liked the Bishop-  
 “ly injunctions in the late novell practices, nor the severe Inquisition up-  
 “on the bare omission of this posture. The Bishops did rigorously exact it:  
 “upon their own heads the crime of that enforcement lies. But (I beseech  
 “you) let not us be guilty in the other extream. Truly to my sence it will  
 “favour lesse of Piety, and more of Tyranny.

“In the last place, consider (I pray) that it is a point dogmaticall, not  
 “yet fully resolved by Divines; let us then be wary in it. And let this  
 “(with many other points) be referred to a *Nationall Synod*. For one we  
 “must have, or else we shall break our Religion into a thousand pieces.

“For this present, my motion is (as formerly) that this Order be super-  
 “seded, by declaring to the *Commons* (as your words in the Order are) that  
 “they do quietly attend the *Reformation intended*, and that in the mean time  
 “they do (as they ought) obey the Lawes that are.

## S E C T. XIJ.

ON Friday the 22. Octob. some debate there was upon a new short Bill  
 for taking away the Bishops Votes in Parliament. It was languaged that  
 they ought not to intromit themselves into secular jurisdictions; which I re-  
 vied willingly. For if it be found inexpedient, certainly, they ought not: if  
 made unlawful de futuro, they ought not if it be in the power of the



still they ought not: as was then argued by a worthy member of the House.

But when it was presently urged by a Gentleman my neighbour there, that *unto the words, ought not, should be, subjoyned, and that it is inconsistent with their function, which was pressed and urged by a generall voucher of Scripture, Fathers, and Conncels: Yet I know that Gentleman will not in matter of opinion, scarce in an Historicall point, allow me proof of what I can prove out of the two latter. Occasionally then, I thus expressed my self.*

M.S

“ **M**r. Speaker, However I am resolved in my private opinion of the  
 “ **M**inexpediency and unlawfulness for Clergy men to hold secular  
 “ jurisdiction ( *Duo gladii non sunt in unum constandi & conferruminandi* )  
 “ yet Sir, my inward resolution doth not presently make me a Judge in a  
 “ Dogmaticall point, nor do I know that this place doth enable me with  
 “ that capacity: if it be my private opinion, yet I desire not to bind the  
 “ judgment of the Land herein by an Act of Parliament, although deter-  
 “ mining to my own sence.

“ Certainly Sir, this point of *inconsistency*, will lead this House ( much  
 “ more that of the Lords, where the Bishops are ) into a debate, which may  
 “ more safely and more prudently be avoided. I have formerly, and again  
 “ pray you, that we may not engage our selves into the determination of  
 “ doctrinall points in Divinity, perhaps it is not proper for us; and for my  
 “ part I do think we are not here in *Idonei & competentes iudices*,

“ Was it ever heard or seen, that a set of Lay-men, Gentlemen, Soul-  
 “ diers, Lawyers, Merchants; all professors admitted, but the profession of  
 “ professions for this work, divines alone excluded, that we should deter-  
 “ mine upon doctrinall points in Divinity? Theology not so low, so fa-  
 “ cile a Trade. Let us maintaine the doctrines that are established; to de-  
 “ clare new, is not fit for our Assembly. And for my part, I do think I have  
 “ found daily cause to wish these resolutions recommended unto other  
 “ resolvers.

“ Mr. Speaker, Divines are herein ( in dogmatick resolutions of Religi-  
 “ on ) concerned as much, as well as we: They are a considerable party,  
 “ and ought not to be bound up un-heard. It was a prevailing Argument  
 “ with me against the late Canons, that they could not bind us of the Lai-  
 “ ty, being a distinct severall body, no way involved in their Votes. Our  
 “ plea was, that we neither had a *decisive* voice to determine with them:  
 “ nor a *deliberative* voice to consult with them: nor an elective voice, in  
 “ choice of their Persons, to make them our *Trustees*, to determine for us.  
 “ Nor lastly ( as at least we should have ) a *susceptive* voice, in a body of our  
 “ own to receive their resolution, and of our selves to submit unto them.



“ These things are of nature fit to be discussed by grave Divines, in a free  
 “ Synod of Divines, to be chosen by Divines. In the mean time, let not us  
 “ be guilty of the same which we have condemned in them: we ought not  
 “ to pay injury with wrong. They cannot be bound where they are no  
 “ way parties: For it is a rule in Nature, Reason, and Religion, *Quod*  
 “ *omnes tangit, ab omnibus tractari debet.* I am so good a friend to your Bill,  
 “ that for the better expediting thereof, I desire the word *Inconsistent*  
 “ may not stand therein.

Section XIII.

**H**AVING before professed that we are incompetent resolvers of doubtful points in Doctrine; and finding how much of our pretious time, every motion, petition, and occasionall passage in Religion did take up, I thought it not inconvenient, next day to renew my motion for a Synod.

Saturday 23. October.

M. Speaker,

**Y**OU have entred an Order, that nothing be treated of but affaires of Generall concernment: I will present you one as generall, as universall as any can be.

The sad miseries of our distracted Church, and consequently the hazard of Gods true Religion with us, doth even cut my very heart with griefe and feare.

If we let forth the government into a loose liberty for all Religions, we shall have none. Libertinisme will beget Atheisme. And truly Sir, at present betweene Papisme on the one hand, and Brownisme on the other, Narrow is the way, and few there be do find it, to right good Protestantisme.

Many mournfull sad complaints I have of late received from Ministers the ablest, and every way the worthiest that I know. I could willingly name you  
 Rea- two, one at Dover, the other at Cranebroke in Kent: Men upon whose merit,  
 gs. let my credit stand or fall in this House. Hee that hath preached least of these,  
 Ab- hath preached severall thousands of excellent Sermons to his people.

These are in no better condition then many other deserving men, who doe generally complaine with griefe of hearts, to see their now infected sheep, after long pastorall vigilancy, and faithfull ministry, to run and straggle from them more in these last ten moneths, then in twenty yeares before.

Give us ( I beseech you give us ) a remedy, a speedy remedy to this growing evill: or else our Schollers are like to turne Papist, Arminian, or Socinian: and all the ignorant party will either turne Atheist, or else ( which is the next degree ) make to themselves a Religion of their owne, at themselves best please.

Sir, we may sit here (for ought I see) and debate our selves and the world abroad into more and more distances of opinion: we are not likly to worke our selves, much lesse others, into unity.

What is then to be thought on? Sir, the usuall, antient, the best, and I thinke the onely way of cure is by a Councell. A free, learned, grave, religious Synod.

There is in some hand of this House, and long hath been a Bill for a Nationall S. R. H. Synod ready drawn. With it we are curable; without it I look for no peace.

My humble motion is this in a word. If you love the peace of our Jerusalem, command forth that Bill to be forthwith read: or if that Bill be not to be had, appoint a Committee to draw up another.

This is my motion, and it is founded in a hope of piety and peace.

## SECT. XIV.

Vpon occasion of a Remonstrance 19. Novemb. wherein diverse passages then were, concerning Religion and the Church-government, and some in particular (as I conceived) very aspersive to our Religion in the solempne practice of it by our publike Liturgy: charging it (*in hypothesis*) with *vaine Repetition*, and with *favour of Superstition*: I did humbly move, that some of that Committee who framed up that Remonstrance for us; would please to assigne what those *vaine Repetitions* are in our Liturgy, and what passages of *Superstition*. This charge (upon this occasion) was afterwards expunged the Declaration.

Nothing was at all said, as I remember, to that point of *Superstition*. But at length a Gentleman did adventure, to name that which he seemed to think to be *vaine Repetition*.

He said that the Lords Prayer is eight, nine or ten times repeated. I did with leave of the House reply, that such repetition *toties quoties* how oft soever was, if heart and words did go together, far from vain. That in my book, the Lords Prayer was but twice in the whole morning Service, unless the additional of Baptisme, Churching, Communion, Buryall, &c. did occurre. That then in every severall Act of Divine Service it was once, and but once repeated, as the high compleature of all devout expressions.

That this repetition in it self was warrantable, as by our Saviors example who (although he *had not the spirit by measure*) yet in the Garden he prayed three times using the same words. The further debate of this was osted to the next day, and then it did grow toward a question, whether al exceptions against the Liturgy should be totally laid by, or further debated. I did not hold our selves the proper determinators of this point. I did think that

from hence, occasion might again be taken inductive to renew my motion for a free *Nationall Synod*; which I desired to enforce the best I could: especially there being now obtained a generall promise of a *Synod* in this very part of that Declaration or Remonstrance.

Hereupon thus I adventured, A copy whereof being stolne from me issued lately forth, both unknown to me, and misprinted also: which hath been entertained abroad both with Applause and Exception.

*Saturday, November 20.*

*Mr. Speaker,*

“THE question is whether these clauses, concerning some pretended erroneous passages in our Liturgy shall be laid by or not. I am of opinion to decline them here: but not to bury them in a perpetuall silence.

“In this very period you give us (in generall tearms) a promise of a *Nationall Synod*: I do still wish the presence thereof: it being (to my understanding the onely proper cure and remedy for all our Church distractions: and may be proved (if proof be needfull) to have been promised in the book of God.

“This promised *Synod* is too far off: let me have better assurance then a promise, which that I may obtain, I will be bold to give you some reasons to introduce that assembly, and to speed it also.

*M. Speaker, much hath been said, and something attempted to be done to regulate the exterior part of our Religion: but Sir, we bleed inwardly. Much endeavour hath been to amend the deformed formes we were in, and to new govern the Government.*

*Yet Sir, this is but the Leaves of good Religion, fit (I confesse) notwithstanding, to be taken care of, for beauty and for ornament. Nay some Leaves are fit and necessary to be preserved for shadow and for shelter to the blossomes and the fruit.*

*The fruit of all is good life: which you must never expect to see, unless the blossome be pure and good, that is, unless your Doctrines be sound and true.*

*Sir, sir, I speak it with full griefe of heart, whilst we are thus long prying and composing of the Leaves, or rather whilst some would pluck all Leaves away, our blossomes are blasted. And whilst we sit here in cure of Government and Ceremonials, we are poisoned in our Doctrinals. And at whose doore will the guilt and sin of all this lie?*

*Sen.*

*Quinon vetat peccare, cum potest jubet.*

“It is true, that this mischief growes not by our consent: and yet I know not by what unhappy fate, there is at present, such an ill-daring liberty, such a lewd licentiousnes, for all mens venting their severall senses



"(fencelesse fences) in matter of Religion, as never was in any age, in any Nation, untill this Parliament was met together.

"Sir, it belongs to us, to take heed that our countenance (the countenance of this honourable House) be not prostituted to sinister ends by bold offenders. If it be in our power to give a remedy, a timely and a seasonable remedy, to these great and growing evils, and that we (being also put in mind) shall neglect to do it, we then do pluck their sins upon our owne heads.

*Alienum qui fert scelus, facit suum.*

Sen.

"Shall I be bold to give you a very few instances? one for a hundred, wherewith our Pulpits and our Presses do groane?

I.

M. Speaker, *There is a certain new-born, unseen, ignorant, dangerous desperate way of independency; Are we Sir, for this independent way? Nay Sir, are we for the elder brother of it, the Presbyteriall forme? I have not yet heard any one Gentleman within these walls stand up and assert his thoughts here, for either of these wayes: and yet Sir, we are made Patrons, and Protectors of these so different, so repugnant Innovations: witnesse the severall dedications to us.*

"Nay both these wayes, together with the Episcopall, come all rushing in upon us, every one pretending to a fore-head of Divinity.

1. Episcopacy sayes its by divine right; and certainly Sir, it comes much nearer to its claime then any other.

2. Presbytery, that sayes its by divine right.

3. Nay, this illegitimate thing, this new-born Independency, that dares to say its by divine right also.

II.

"Thus the Church of England (not long since the glory of the Reformed Religion) is miserably torn and distracted. You can hardly now say which is the Church of England. Whither shall we turne for cure.

"Another instance. If I would deal with a Papist, to reduce him; He answers, I have bin answered so already: To what Religion would you perswade me? what is the Religion you professe: Your 39 Articles they are contested against: your publique solemn Liturgy that is detested:

\* And which is more then both these, the 3. essentiall, proper, and onely \* *Protestion* Marks of a true Church, they are protested against: what Religion would you perswade me to? where may I find, and know, and see, and read the *tested den* Religion you profes? I beseech you Sir, help me an answer to the Papist. *the Church*

"Nay Sir, the Papist herein hath assistance even among our selves, and doth get the tongue of some men whose hearts are far from him. For at 3. Mark one of your Committees, I heard it publicly asserted, by one of that *of a true Church.* Committee, that some of our Articles do containe some things contrary to holy Scripture.

M. Speaker,

M. Speaker, *Sunday is a Sabbath : Sunday is no Sabbath* : Both true, both untrue, in severall acceptations, and the knot I think too hard for our Teeth. Shall I give you an easier instance?

"Some say it is lawfull to kneel at receiving the Elements of our holy Communion: others plead it as expedient: Some do presse it is necessary: and there want not others who achor it as idolatrous. And Sir, I am confident you cannot so state this easie question to passe among us, but that there will be many *contradicentes*.

"The second Epistle of S. Peter is now newly denied to be the Apostles.

"Our Creed, the holy Apostles Creed, is now disputed, denied, inverted,

*The Ministers in their demonstration do complaine at the Creed is often reversed, but they blotted it (what they had put in) at it is over-short, and in one place) dangerously obscure.*

"and exploded, by some who would be thought the best Christian among us. I started with wonder, and with anger to hear a bold Mechanike tell me that my Creed is not my Creed. He wondered at my wonder, and said, *I hope your worship is too wise to beleieve that which you call your Creed.*

"O Deus bone in qua tempora reservastinos ! Thus ΕΥΘΥΤΕΡΕΣ ΔΕ ΔΕΙΣΘΕ ΧΥΤΑΛΛΑ ΟΥΜΒΑΣΙΝΕΣ One absurdity leads in a

VI. "thousand, and when you are down the hill of error, there is no bottome, but in hell, and that is bottomlesse too. Shall I be bold to give you one (and but one) instance more? Much clamor now there is against our publike Liturgy, though hallowed with the blood of some of the first composers thereof. And surely Sir, some parts of it may be very well corrected. But the clamors now goe very high. Impudence or ignorance is now growne so frontlesse, that it is loudly expected by many that you should utterly abrogate all formes of publique worship: and at least if you have a short forme, yet not to impose the use of it. Extirpation of Episcopacy, that hope is already wallowed, and now the same men are as greedy for Abolition of the Liturgy: that so the Church of England in her publique prayers (b) may hereafter turne a babler at all adventure. A brainelesse, stupid, and an ignorant conceit of some.

"M. Speaker, The wisdom of this House will (I am confident) never sinke so low: never fall into such a *deliquium* of judgment and of piety.

"When you do, I shall humbly submit my selfe: — unto the stake and fagot (I mean) for certainly Sir, I shall then be a Parliament heritick.

"ardity, that a just authority may not bind that to be done by a Law, which is (as they confesse) lawfull in it selfe both to have and use. b In the false Copy abroad, instead of may hereafter, the silly Transcriber put in Nay, her afferture, which hath been some displeasure unto me.



Thus much, for a taste of that, whereof there is too much abroad; For the divisions of Reuben, there are great thoughts of heart abroad. (Sir) Thus are we engaged into sad points of Divinity, and with the favour of that Gentleman, who did last time digest it, I must againe propound my doubtfull *quare*, to be resolved by the wisdom of this House: whether we be *Idones & competentes judices* in doctrinall resolutions?

In my opinion we are not. Let us maintain the Doctrine established in the Church of England, it will be neither safety nor wisdom, for us to determine new.

(Sir) I doe againe repeat and avow my former words: And doe confidently affirme, that it was never seen, nor knowne in any age, in any Nation throughout the whole world, that a set of Lay-men, Gentlemen, Souldiers, Lawyers of both Gownes, Physicians, Merchants, Citizens, all professions admitted, or at least admittable, but the professors of Religion alone, excluded, that wee should determine upon doctrines in Divinity.

Shall the Clergy hold different doctrines from us? or shall our determinations hold them also? They are a considerable body in this kingdom; they are (herein surely) concerned as much as we, and ought not to be bound up unheard, and unpartied.

Farther (Sir) if Clergy-men, among us be thought fit for no other then for spirituall imployment; How shall we answer it to God, and to a good conscience, if wee shut them out from that which wee our selves pretend to be their only and their proper worke?

Mr. Speaker, We cannot brag of an unerring spirit; infallibility is no more tyed to your Chayre, then it is unto the Popes. And if I may speake Truth, as I love truth with clearenesse, and with plainnesse, I do here ingenuously professe unto you, that I shall not acquiesce, and sit downe upon the doctrinall resolutions of this House: unlesse it bee where my owne *Genius* doth lead and prompt me to the same conclusions.

Mr. Speaker, We are here convened by his Majesties Writ to treat *Super arduis negotiis regni & Ecclesie*; I beseech you let us not turne *negatia Ecclesie* into *dogmata fidei*. There is a great difference in *Objecto* between the Agends and the Credends of a Christian. Let us so take care to settle the government, that we doe not unsettle the doctrines.

The short close of all with a motion is but this: we are poysoned in many points of doctrine: And I know no Antidote, no *Recipe* for cure but one: a well chosen & well temper'd *National Synod*, and Gods blessing thereon: this may cure us: without this (in my poore opinion)



*England* is like to turn it self into a great *Amsterdam*; and unless this coun-  
cell be very speedy, the disease will be above the cure.

Therefore, that we may have a full fruition of what is here but pro-  
mised: I doe humbly move that you will command forth the Bill for  
a *Nationall Synod*, to be read the next morning. I saw the Bill above  
five moneths since in the hand of a worthy member of this House. If  
that Bill be not to be had, then my humble motion is ( as formerly )  
that you would name a Committee to draw up another.

This being once resolved, I would then desire that all motions of  
Religion, ( this about the Liturgy, especially ) may bee transferred thi-  
ther, and you will find it to be the way of peace and unity among us  
here.

I might have added in due place above, a mention of ( 1 ) frequent  
Schismaticall Conventicles. ( 2 ) That Taylers, Shoemakers,  
Braziers, Feltmakers, doe climbe our publik Pulpits. ( 3 ) That sever-  
rall odde irregular fasts have beene held, for partiall venting of private  
flatteries of some; slanders of other members of this House. ( 4 ) That  
the distinction of Clergy and Laity is popish and Antichristian, and  
ought no longer to remaine: ( 5 ) That the Lords Prayer was not  
taught us to bee used. ( 6 ) That no Nationall Church can be a true  
Church of God. ( 7 ) That the visible Church of Antichrist did make  
the King Head of the Church. ( 8 ) That supreme power in Church af-  
fares, is in every severall congregation. ( 9 ) That a Presbytery with-  
out a Bishop was in the world before it was at Geneva. ( 10 ) That it  
is a hainous sinne to be present when prayers are read out of a booke.  
( 11 ) That to communicate in presence of a prophane person, is to par-  
take of his prophanenesse. ( 12 ) That Christs Kingdome hath beene  
a Candle under a bushell, whilst Antichrist hath out-raigned him for  
1600 years together.

Many, many more instances at little leisure I can gather, which toge-  
ther have begotten a generall increase of open Libertinisme, secret A-  
theisme, bold Arminianisme, desperate Socinianisme, stupid Anabap-  
tisme, and with these the new Chiliastes, and the wilfulnesse of Papists  
strangely and strongly confirmed by these distractions.

Good God! looke downe and direct our consultations. The best  
issue wher of ( I thinke ) would be to debate the whole debate of Re-  
ligion out of our doores: by putting it into a *free Synod*; whereupon I  
doubt not but wee should grow unanimous in all our other works.

## Section XV.

**T**He Remonstrance or great Declaration went out of the House much better then it came in. When it was engrossed and presented to the last vote with us, I gave in my exceptions thus,

22. Novemb. 1641.

*Mr. Speaker,*

**T**His Remonstrance is now in progresse on its last foot in this House: I must give a vote unto it, one way or other: my conscience bids me not to dare to be affirmative: So sings the bird in my breast, and I doe cheerfully beleieve the tune to be good.

This Remonstrance whensoever it passeth, will make such an impression, and leave such a character behind, both of his Majesty, the People, the Parliament, and of this present Church and State, as no time shall ever eat it out, whilst Histories are written, and men have eyes to read them.---How curious then ought we to be, both in the matter and the forme? Herein is a severe point of conscience to be tryed: Let us be sure that every particular substance be a *Truth*: and let us cloath that *Truth* with a free language, yet a modest and a sober language.

*Mr. Speaker,* This Remonstrance is in some kind greater and more extensive then an Act of Parliament: that reacheth only to England and Wales; but in this the three Kingdomes will be your immediate supervisors: and the greatest part of Christendome will quickly borrow the glasse to see our deformities therein. They will scan this worke at leisure, which (I hope) we shall not shut up in haste.

Some pieces here are of excellent use and worth: but what is that to me, if I may not have them, without other parts that are both doubtfull and dangerous.

The *matter*, *forme*, and *finall end* of this Remonstrance, all of them doe argue with me, not to remonstrate thus.

The *end*: to what end doe we decline thus to them that looke not for it? Wherefore is this descension from a Parliament to a people? they looke not up for this so extraordinary courtesie? The better sort thinke best of us: And why are we told that the people are expectant for a Declaration?



I did never looke for it of my predecessors in this place, nor shall doe from my successors I do here professe that I do not know any one soule in all that Country (for which I have the honour to serve) who looks for this at your hands. They doe humbly and heartily thank you for many good Lawes and Statutes already enacted, and pray for more. That is the language best understood of them, and most welcome to them. They doe not expect to heare any other stories of what you have done, much lesse promises of what you will doe.

*Mr. Speaker.* When I first heard of a Remonstrance, I presently imagined that like faithfull Counsellors, we should hold up a glasse unto his Majesty: I thought to represent unto the King the wicked counsels of pernicious Counsellours: The restless turbulency of practicall Papists. The treachery of false Judges: The bold innovations and some Superstition brought in by some pragmaticall BB: and the rotten part of the Clergy.

I did not dream that we should remonstrate downeward, tell stories to the people, and talke of the King as if a third person.

The use and end of such Remonstrance, I understand not: at least, I hope, I doe not.

*Mr. Speaker.* In the forme of this Remonstrance, if it were presented to you from all the Committee, yet I am bold to make this Quære, whether that Committee have presented to us any heads in this Remonstrance which were not first agitated here, and recommended to them from this House: if they have, there wanteth then (for so much) the formall power that should actuate and enlive the work so brought unto us: as may be well observed by perusing the order (now above a twelvemonth old) for constituting that Committee.

In the matter of this Remonstrance I except against severall particulars, but upon the transient reading of it, (not having any view thereof) I will gather up two instances onely, very obvious, very easie to be observed.

First, (as was also observed by a learned Noble Lord who spake last) here is a charge of a high crime against all the Bishops in the Land, and that above all prooffe that yet I have heard.

Your words are, *Idolatry introduced by command of the BB.*

What? plaine, flat, formall Idolatry? name the species of this idolatry, that is introduced by the Bishops, that is (for indefinite propositions are æquipollent to universall) by all the Bishops, and by a command of theirs.

Certainly

to. No-  
vem. 1640.

Lo. Vis-  
count Falk-  
land.



Certainely *Sir*, idolatry (in the practice of it) is a very visible sin; and the *command* of the Bishops was either legible or audible. Who hath read this command? who hath heard this command? who hath seen this all commanded idolatry? and can assigne wherein it is?

Some superstition in Doctrines, and in practices, by some Bishops this is not the question: But the odious apostacy of Idolatry. Give me leave to say.

No man in this House can charge and prove all the Bishops, no nor halfe of them, I dare say, not any three among them: perhaps (and truly I thinke so) not one among them all, to have issued forth any one *command* for idolatry. If any man can, let him speake and convince me, I love to be reformed. In the mean time I desire to offer you some particulars in barre, and by way of opposall to this charge.

The learned, pious, and painefull B. of *Durham* hath fought in front *D. Morton*, against Roman superstition and idolatry.

The B. of *Lincolne* was the first of note that gave check unto our Pa- *D. Williams*,  
pall misleaders and Altarian innovators. He stood in gap of that inun-  
dation, and was a sufferer for us.

The B. of *Exeter* (however mistaken in the Divinity of Episcopacy) *D. Hall*,  
hath ever had the repute both of a good man, & a good Bishop. He hath  
not only held and maintained his station, but advanced also, and made  
good impression upon the idolaters of Rome.

M. *Speaker*, This hath been a very acculative age: yet have I not heard *D. Juxton*,  
any superstition (much lesse Idolatry) charged (much lesse proved) upon *D. Curle*,  
the severall Bishops of *London, Winchester, Chester, Carlisle, Chichester*, *D. Bridg-*  
*man*.

*Parcite paucorum crimen diffundere in omnes.*

*D. Potter.*  
*D. Duppar.*

Not for love unto the persons of these Bishops, but for honor to our Religion, although the times of late have been somewhat darkened; yet let not us make the day blacker in report then it is in truth.

In the last place I observe a promise in generall words, that *Learning* shall be rather advanced then discouraged: *Sed quid verba audio, cum facta videam?*

Great rewards doe beget great endeavours: and certainly (*Sir*) when the great *Bafon* and *Ewer* are taken out of the Lottery, you shall have few adventurers for small Plate and spoones onely.

If any man could cut the Moon out all into little Stars: although we might still have the same Moon or as much in small pieces; yet we shall want both light and influence.

To hold out the Golden ball of honour and of profit, is both policy and honesty; and will be operative upon the best natures, and the most pious minds.

But ( *Mr. Speaker* ) if I observe aright; learning ( I meane Religious learning ) in this Remonstrance is for one halfe thereof utterly unthought on. And because I heare often speech of one halfe, but seldome mention of the other, give mee leave ( I beseech you ) in this Theam a little to enlarge my selfe: if your Remonstrance once passe, it will be too late ( I feare ) to enter this plea.

It is I dare say, the unanimous wish, the concurrent sence of this whole House to goe such a way, as may best settle and secure an able, learned, and fully sufficient ministry among us. This ability, this sufficiency must be of two severall sorts.

Tit. 1. 6.

It is one thing to be able to preach and to fill the Pulpit well; it is another ability to confute the perverse adversaries of Truth, and to stand in that breach. The first of these, gives you the wholesome food of *sound Doctrine*; the other maintaines it for you, and defends it from such Harpies as would devour or else pollute it. Both of these are supremely necessary for us, and for our Religion.

Tit. 9. 10  
Verse 11.

Both are of Divine institution. The holy Apostle requireth both. Both *πρεσβυτέραις & ἐλέγχειν*. First to preach, *That he be able with sound Doctrine to exhort*: and then, *καὶ τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας ἐλέγχειν*, and to convince the gain-sayers. For (saith he) there are many deceivers whose mouths must be stoppt.

Now *Sir*, to my purpose: these double abilities, these severall sufficiencies, may perhaps sometime meet together in one and the same man: but seldome, very seldome, so seldome that you scarce can find a very few among thousands rightly qualified in both.

Nor is this so much the infelicity of our, or any times, as it is generally the incapacity of man, who can not easily raise himselfe up to double excellencies.

Knowledge in Religion doth extend it selfe into so large, so vast a Sphere; that many (for hast) do cut crosse the diameter, and find weight enough in halfe their worke: very few doe or can travell the whole circle round.

Some one in an age ( perhaps ) may bee found, who as *Sir Francis Darke* about the terrestriall Globe, may have travelled the celestially Orbe of Theologicall learning, both for controversall, and for instructive Divinity.

The incomparable Primate of *Ireland* deserves first to bee named. *Bishop Morton* ( whom I mentioned before ) is another reverend

worthy, and hath highly deserved of our Church in both capacities. Jewel (of pious memory) another Bishop never to be forgotten. Some few others I could name, able and active both for Pulpit and the Pen. But Sir, these be *Rare aves*, there are very few of them.

As Mr.  
Reading.  
M. Abbot.

The reason is evident. For whil'st one man doth chiefly intend the Pulpit exercises, hee is thereby disabled for polemick discourses: and whil'st another indulgeth to himselfe the faculty of his pen, he thereby renders himselfe the weaker for the Pulpit. Some men aiming at eminency in both have proved but meane proficientes in either. For it is a rule and a sure one,

*Pluribus intentus minor est ad singula* —

Now Sir, such a way, such a temper of Church-government and of Church-revenue, I must wish, as may best secure unto us both: both for preaching to us at home, and for convincing such as are abroad.

Let mee be alway sure of some Champions in our *Israel*, such as may bee ready and able to fight the *Lords battell* against the Philistims of *Rome*, the Socinians of the *North*, the Arminians and Semi-Pelagians of the *West*: and generally against Hereticks and Atheists every where. God encrease the number of his labourers within his Vineyard: such as may plentifully and powerfully preach faith and good life among us. But never let us want some of these watchmen also about our *Israel*, such as may form the *everlasting hills* (to the Scriptures are called) watch for us, and descry the common enemy, which way soever hee shall approach. Let us maintaine both Pen and Pulpit. Let no Ammonite Perswade the Gileadite, to foole out his right eye unlesse we be willing to make a league with destruction; and to winke at ruine whil'st it comes upon us. 1 Sam. 2.

Learning (Sir) it is invaluable: the losse of learning, it is not in one age recoverable. You may have observed, that there hath beene a continuall spring, a perpetuall growth of learning ever since it pleased God, first to light *Luthers candle*: I might have said *Wicklifes*, and justly so I doe; for even from that time unto this day, and night and houre, this light hath increased; and all this while our better cause hath gained by this light; which doth convince our Miso-musists, and doth evict that Learning and Religion, by their mutuall support, are like Hippocrates twins, they laugh and mourne together.

But Sir, notwithstanding all this so long encrease of learning, there is a *Terra incognita*, a great Land of learning not yet discovered: our adversaries are dayly trading, and wee must not sit downe and give over, but must encourage and maintaine, and encrease the number

of



of our painefull Adventures for the Golden fleece : and except the fleece be of Gold, you shall have no Adventurers.

*Sir*, we all doe looke that our cause should be defended : if the fee be poore, the plea will be but faint. Our cause is good, our defence is just : let us take care that it be strong ; which for my part, I doe clearly and ingenuously professe, I cannot expect should be performed by the Parish Minister, no not so well as hitherto it hath beene. For from whom the more you doe now expect of the Pulpit, the lesse ( I am sure ) you must looke for of the Pen.

How shall he with one hundred pound, ( perhaps two hundred pound ) *per annum*, with a family, and with constant preaching, be able, either in purse for charge, or in leisure for time, or in Art for Skill, to this so chargeable, so different, so difficult a worke ? I speak it ( *Mr. Speaker* ) and Pardon my want of modesty if I say, I speak it not unknowingly : Six hundred pound is but a meane expence in bookes, and will advance but a moderate Library. Paines and learning must have a reward of *Honour* and *Profit* proportionall : and so long as our Adversaries will contend, we must maintaine the charge, or else lay downe the cause.

In conclusion, I doe beseech you all with the fervour of an earnest heart ; a heart almost divided betweene hopes and feares : never to suffer diversion or diminution of the rents we have for *Learning* and *Religion* : but beside the Pulpit, let us be sure to maintaine *παιδείαν καὶ δόξαν*, an universall *Militia* of Theology, whereby we may be alway ready and able ( even by strength of our owne, within our owne happy Island at home ) *ἐμσπουζέειν*, to stop the mouth of all errours and heresies that can arise.

Never *Sir*, never let it be said that *sacred Learning* ( for such is that I plead for ) shall in one essentiall halfe thereof, be quite unprovided for in *England*. *Sir*, I have reason to be earnest in this, I see I know great designs drawing another way : and my feares are increased, not cured by this declaration.

Thus I have done : and *because* I shall want Champions for true Religion. *Because* I neither looke for cure of our complaints from the Common people, nor do desire to be cured by them. *Because* this House ( as under favour I conceive ) hath not recommended all the heads

of this Remonstrance to the Committee which brought it in ; *Because* it is not true that the Bishops have commanded Idolatry. Because I do not know any necessary good end and use of this Declaration, but do fear a bad one. And because we passe his Majesty, and do Remonstrate to the People. I doe here discharge my Vote with a cleare conscience, and must say *NO* to this strange Remonstrance.

### Section XVI.

**T**Hus far I go cleare, the same man unchanged : and that I may fully expose my self unto a right Character, and a true esteeme, beside the laying open how I have already expressed my self in matter of Religion I shall now be bold to give you a composure fitted and framed for the House, on the same subject, and ready to have been presented above half a yeare since.

The Bill for *Root and Branch* (commonly called the Bishops Bill) having long bin agitated, and in the Commitment grown from two sheets to above forty, I did think it would at least have been brought to question for the engrossing : This that follows was ready to have been interposed upon that question. The Bill is laid down (I hope) to its perpetuall rest. This was prepared as an endeavour to lay that asleepe. And because it doth most fully represent my utmost end and aime for *Reformation*, I am willing to subjoyne it here unto the rest.

*Sir* *Spe.*

**M<sup>r</sup>. Speaker,**  
**T**HIS Bill is now in question for its further progresse : I must give a vote unto it one way or other. The inward dictate of my conscience will not suffer me to be affirmative. We may now debate this Bill *super totam materiam*, and I will then (with your leave and patience) give you some account why I am so fixed negative. This I shall doe as briefly as this cause can beare.

You had from my hand a very short Bill,

— *Non bos quesitum munus in usus.*

I am willing (with many more) to abrogate that which is : provided that I may at that very time, in the same Bill know and constitute what shall be; such an addition to this Bill I did at first expect. Such an addition I shall anon be bold to present, but it will not now suit this Bill, as it is now mistempered to that purpose.

This Bill when it was but a short one, it did containe a great sum, *Act for the utter abolishing of all Arch-bishops, Bishops, Deanes, and*  
H Chapters,



Ep. l. 4. c.  
21.

Chaplers, Archdeacons, Prebendaries, Chaunters, Chanons, and all other their under-officers. These may be Legion for ought I know, they are so many, and many of them instruments and officers of vexation only. Pope Gregory the first gave a true prediction, when hee said that Antichrist should come *Cum exercitu Sacerdotum*, with an army of Priests; it hath proved so. True on the other side, where the numberlesse numbers of Monks, Fryers, and Secular Priests, with his Janizary Jesuits, doe match the greatest army that ever the Grand Signior hath led. True in proportion with us, if the under-officers among us doe reach near the thousands they have been (of late) computed at. But letting passe the army of all their under-officers, the substance and body of our present work is reducible to two heads.

1 *Episcopall Government.*2 *Cathedrall Societies.*

All the rest are unto these, but *Phylacteria nuge*, their idle trappings and additionall impertinencies.

In the discussion and resolution of all this (I am confident) if we be but candid, temperate, and respectfull hearers of one another: we shall find that (all this while) we are farthar off, in words, in language and expressions, then we are in matter, in truth, and in purposes.

In the first place therefore, lest we should beat the aire in a mistaken sense of words, I will be bold in a word or two, to give you the different sense of the word *Episcopacy*.

Sir, it will be maintained upon good ground that *Episcopacy* is of *Divine Right*: it will be maintained upon grounds as good, that *Episcopacy* is not of *Divine Right*. The ambiguity lyes in the word *Episcopacy*, and it must be put into a certainty, or else we shall run our selves into a certaine Labyrinth of words, and lose the matter.

Three sorts of *Episcopacy* I have observed, and no more: pardon me if I use expressions which you have received before: They were his, they are mine, and *Beza* taught us both: who gives them thus.

1 *Episcopatus Divinus.*2 *Episcopatus Humanus.*3 *Episcopatus Satanicus.*

Others in milder language do keep the same sense: So you may please to say, there is

1 *Episcopus Pastor.*2 *Episcopus Praeses.*3 *Episcopus Princeps.*

The



The first of these we all do reverence: it is the ordinance of God. You may safely write a *Noli me tangere* upon that; you have the holy text to warrant you. *Noli tangere Christum meos.*

The second also (in its degree) I do highly honour, it is of right venerable antiquity: And for my part, if I can find such Episcopacy among us, I shall willingly submit thereto, though it should prove but the ordinance of man. Kings are no more themselves: Yet being once invested obedience is due unto them by Divine right. You have another text for this also. *Submit your selves to every ordinance of man for the Lords sake.* So then the first is the ordinance of God, to be obeyed for God: The second, although the ordinance of man, yet (whilest it stands so ordained) it is to be obeyed for God also. Psal. 101.  
15.

The third Episcopacy hath too much of the Principallty. This I detest, this I abhor. This is originally and really Antichristian. Away with this if you please, both *Root and Branch.* 1 Pet. 2.1

If you will give me leave and patience, I will (as briefly as I can) touch them over and explaine my selfe.

First *Episcopus Pastor.* This I say is of *Divine Right.* Every spirituall Shepheard is to have a Flock: and every Congregation must have a Pastor to oversee that Flock. This is originall, and of no lesse then Divine institution. I need not prove this Bishop. If there be any doubt of this Episcopacy, look *S. Paul* in the twentieth of the *Acts*, there he gives this charge; *Take heed (saith he) to the flock over which the holy Ghost hath made you Bishops.* I know well that this text is by some Expositors construed of other Bishops. But how ever here are Bishops by divine right. And (mark you!) the holy Chost (God for ever to be blessed) he first made Bishops. The Originall is plaine, *το πνευμα το αγιον εδετο επισκοπους.* Verf. 28.

*S. Peter* speaks by the same spirit; *Feed the flock of God (saith he) which is among you: taking the Bishoprick thereof.* Our English reading is the oversight thereof, both the same. Overseers and Bishops differ no more then a Greek name and an English; severall sounds, but the same sense. The originall is *ἐπισκοπῆς*, being Bishops thereof, nothing can be more plaine. 1 Pet. 5.2

Now (Sir) this Episcopacy, we shall not, we must not, we dare not remove. This is that Bishop of whom the most ancient *Ignatius*, *Ep. ad Tra* thus, *Episcopo subiecti estote velut Domino, ipse enim vigilat pro animabus vestris.*

Away then with their impertinent objection, who say, that there is a malady in the very name of Bishop; that the name is odious: you shall find it in the very name of Bishop. *H 2*

see the holy Ghost hath honoured this name and title, with approbation. Nay this name and title must never sinke into obloquy, it being one of the attributes of our blessed Saviour, He is the *Bishop of our souls*.

The second is *Episcopus præsēs*. If this be but *Humanus Episcopus* (for I doe not determine the point already warme betweene a reverend and worthy Bishop & his Anti-pent-agonists) if it be not founded upon Divine institution, yet certainly it stands on good grounds, and pleads its owne right by a good title, and that either *jure Apostolico*, or *jure Ecclesiastico*; or *jure civili & constitutiva*, or *jurationis & convenientia*. All or any of these do entitle it *jure bono*. And that by so good, so approved a right, that (Mr. Speaker) I am bold to stand up, and to forbid any man from this houre for 1600. yeares upward, to name any one age, nay any one year, wherein this Episcopacy was out of date in the best part of Christendome. By the word *Bishop* I doe here understand, a man of the Clergy eminent in honour and power, by vertue of a superiour degree above other men, both Ministers and people within a certaine circuit or territory allotted and subjected to his particuler care and survey in matters spirituall, and affaires Ecclesiasticall.

I will not trouble you to repeat the character of this Bishop: I have formerly been bold with you in that kind. He had a precedency. He had a presidency: He had a power, *potestatem directivam*, it cannot be denied. I gave you an instance very accommodate to my sense: (Mr. Speaker) your selfe are our Bishop, we are your Presbyters.

It is true, that we have made you our Bishop, our Overseer, our President: and now it is true, that neither we without you, nor you without us, can establish any one order. Not you without us, we must be your Assistants. So Ignatius of old, *The Presbyters are* (saith he) *ὡς συνέδριον Θεοῦ, καὶ συνέδριον Ἀποστόλων*, as the Senate of God, and the band of Apostles. Nor we without you, for so the same Ignatius (give me leave to presse his venerable authority; although ignorance and arrogance have of late decayed both him and all Antiquity.) *They* (saith he) *who doe all things Χρὶς ἐν ονόματι without a Bishop, to such men Christ will say — Why doe you call me Lord, Lord, and doe not the workes I bid you? Such men do seeme to me ἐν ὀνόματι Θεοῦ, not to be of good conscience, but to be counterfeits and dissemblers.* Mark his judgment on such as would doe all things without a Bishop.

Of this Bishop, the *Bishop President* (and I plead for no other) it must be meant, which I read in the same Ignatius (I wil not trouble you with any yonger, or any weaker authority, and I wil hold my self within those

Epistles

Epist. ad  
Tral.

Epist. ad  
Magneſ.



Epistles that are indubiously his ) the words are these, *Ἀναγκασιον ἐστιν* Epist. ad  
*ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μὴδὲ πρᾶττεν ὑμεῖς.* It is necessary (necessary he says) that you  
 do nothing without the Bishop.

Clearly then, the *Bishop President* in the best and purest age, was of  
 the *Quorum* in all Ecclesiasticall affaires. And for this last age, Reverend  
*Calvin, Beza, Bucer, Zanchy, Danous*, learned *Chamier*, all admit, none  
 reject this kinde of Episcopacy.

They who deny that ever any such Bishops were in the best, the purest  
 times, I entreat some one of then ( if any such be here ) to stand up, and  
 to shew me, teach me, how I may prove, that ever there was an *Alexan-*  
*der of Macedon*, or a *Julius Caesar*, or a *William the Conqueror* in the  
 world. For Sir, to me as plain, as evident it is, that Bishops President, have  
 been the constant, permanent, and perpetuall governours, and modera-  
 tors of the Church of God in all ages. And this being matter of fact, I do  
 hope that historicall prooffe will be sufficient adequate prooffe in that  
 which in its fact is matter of history. But prooffs herein are so manifold  
 and so clear, that I borrow the free and true assertion of a worthy and a  
 learned Gentleman: *It may be thought want of will rather than want of light,*  
*which makes men deny the antiquity of Bishops in the Primitive times.*

Sir Thom.  
 Aston, re-  
 view of E-

Therefore answer not me, but answer *Ignatius*, answer *Clemens*, *Ter-*  
*ullian*, and *Irenæus*. Nay; answer the whole indisputed concurrence of P.<sup>r</sup>.  
 the Asian, the European, and the African Churches, All ages, all places,  
 All persons: Answer ( I say ) all these, or ( do as I do ) yeeld to the  
 sufficient evidence of a truth.

*Deque fide certâ, sit tibi certa fides.*

But do not think to bring me into a dream of a new born, or new to be  
 born Church-government, never known, never seen in Christendome  
 before this age.

As for them, who say that all Episcopacy is Antichristian: Truly Sir,  
 they may ( if they please ) with as sound reason, and with as much know-  
 ledge say, that all Church-government is Antichristian; and I doubt  
 there are some abroad ripe for such a sense.

Sir, Let us be wiser than to cosen our selves with words, and through  
 a mistaken Logomachy run our selves into a Church Anarchy. If you talk  
 with a Papist, in point of Religion, presently he is up with the word *Ca-*  
*tholike*; *Catholike* he tels you he is, of the *Catholike Roman Church*. This  
 goes off *perrotando*; but require him to speak plain English--The *Univer-*  
*sall Roman Church*, & then you may laugh him into silence. Just so, some  
 cry away with *Bishops*, *no Bishops*, no not of any kind. I desire one of that



sense to stand up, and tell me sadly, would you have an *Overseer* in the Church or not?

Phil. 4. 3.

Ancient *S. Clement* (whom *S. Paul* calleth his *Fellow-workman* in his undoubted *Epistle* to the *Corinthians*) doth foretell that a time should come, when there would be *Episcopi & episcopatus & emonoxie*, contention about the very name of *Bishop*. I think the time is now. For my part I will not make that my contention; but for the government by an *Episcopal* pre-*lidency*, shew me any thing more agreeable to the holy word: shew me any thing more honoured by the holy *Martyrs* of the first and the later times: shew me any more rationall and prudentiall way of government, and I yeeld unto you.

Some against all *Episcopacy* do plead unto us, the fresh example, and late practice of our neighbour Churches. But I beseech you, Sir, are not wee herein as fit to give them our, as to take their example? I am ashamed to heare yesterdayes example pressed as an argument by some, and the all-seeing providence through all ages to the contrary turned aside, by the same men, as not worth an answer. Or if an answer you get, it is but this dead one, wherein (as in a *mare mortuum*) they would drown all reply. Oh, say they, the *mystery of Iniquity* began to work in the *Apostles* time. Ergo, what? Therefore, say they, this *Episcopacy* is that *mystery of iniquity*: & so they do desperately conclude with themselves, that *Christ* did never support his Church with a good government till *Farrell & Frumentius* did drive their *Bishops* out of *Geneva*: or since then, untill *Presbytery* begat *Independency*. But their *Syllagisme* is a true *Logick* and as consequentiall, as our *Kentish Proverb*, that *Tenterden Steeple is the cause of Goodwin sands*. Both arguments are in one and the same mood and figure. But I returne and proceed.

I have not asserted this kinde of *Episcopacy* as divine, yea I professe that it soares aloft.

— Et caput inter nubila condit.

It hath been strongly received, that *Presbyters* succeed to the seventy *Disciples*, and *Bishops* to the *Apostles*. *S. Peter* honours *Episcopacy*, by entitling the holy *Apostles* therunto; for *Matthias* is chosen to take a *Bishoprick* (the very word there) which *Judas* lost by going to his own place.

*S. Paul* tels you, *This is a faithfull saying, et non emonoxis operatur*, If any man desire a *Bishoprick*, he desireth a good work. And this *S. Paul* writes not at large in an *Epistle* to the body of a whole Church, as to *Rome* or *Corinth*, but this is in; directed unto *Timothy*, then designed to be the particular *Bishop*, that is the *President* and *Overseer* of *Ephesus*.

Two things are (or may be) here objected. First, that neither of these Texts, nor any other can be found, expressly mandatory, requiring the Office of Episcopacy in the Church. Next, that the name of Bishop is in some places plainly given unto Presbyters. I answer,

If you put me upon this, that you will not yeeld unto Episcopacy untill you have a Text expressly positive therein, consider it by the same rule you do not let loose many other points as well as this. Shew me an expresse Text for the Lords day to be weekly celebrated. It will be hard to finde divers articles of our Creed in the holy Scripture *terminis terminantibus*. What have you there for *Pado-baptisme*? what precept or example have you from our Saviour, that women sh<sup>d</sup> receive the Sacrament of the Lords Supper? Why should women be baptized since the covenant (to which baptisme doth succeed) Circumcision was a seale betweene God and men only? What have you there expresse, why I may not beleieve the Trinity to be three almighties, as well as three persons and but one almighty?

But Sir, the golden rule of *Vincenius Lirinensis* is an unfailing guide. *Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus*, look what among Christians, hath been every where at all times, by all men universally received, *Atque id quidem verè est Catholicum*, and there you may rest secured, So (I say) that for right sense of these Texts, and for warrant of this Episcopacy, the universall practice of the whole Church of God, especially in the Apostles times, and immediately succeeding the Apostles, is a most undeniable commentary to clear unto us, that this kind of Episcopacy is and was of *Apostolicall allowance*, if not of *Apostol call institution*. And thus in other points doth *Tertullian* argue against *Marcion*, and *S. Augustine* against the Donatists.

The second exception is thus. These Bishops may well be thought to be but Presbyters, for, say they, the name of Bishop is given to presbyters also in holy writ. *Ergo* Episcopacy is not a severall degree from Presbytery.

Surely Sir, if this argument be a sound one, then Apostleship it self was not a severall order and degree from the 70 Disciples, and from presbyters, & then it had been a vain thing to take *Muthias* from a disciple into the lot and fellowship of an Apostolate. *S. Peter* doth not degrade himselfe of his Apostleship, when he entituled himself *Συνεργός*, a fellow Presbyter. That very office which is called a *Bishoprick* is within 4 or 5 verses following, called the *ministry of an Apostleship*. And if you wil argue from community of names to identity of office (so is done in the titles of Bishop & Presbyter) surely then we shal find many more Apostles than they.



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Act. 9. 27. they who saw the Lord in the flesh. So Barnabas is called an Apostle, So  
 Cor. 5. Andronicus and Junius are among the Apostles. S. Paul calls Epaphrodi-  
 tus, the Apostle of the Philippians, ἀπόστολος τῶν Φιλιππίων. So speaking to Titus and  
 Rom. 16. 7 others, they are styled Ἀποστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν, the Apostles of the Churches, Shall  
 Phil. 2. 25. I conclude, that all these who are thus called Apostles, were indeed, and  
 in proper acceptation very Apostles? No man will say so.

By the same argument, (from community of name to identity of Of-  
 fice, which argument, by Antiprelaticall men, is much enforced) I may  
 prove an Apostle and a Deacon to be the same Office. S. Paul calleth his  
 Apostleship but a Deaconry, τὴν δακονίαν ἣν ἔλαβον. And again, Ἐγὼ οὐλοῦ  
 Act. 10. 24. δακονῶ, I was made a Deacon. I conclude, that if Apostles be called Dea-  
 Eph. 3. 7. cons, and Deacons be called Apostles, and yet the Offices are, and are re-  
 Col. 1. 23. puted to be, distinct and severall: So may the same men be called some-  
 time Bishops, sometime elders or Presbyters, and yet the two different de-  
 grees remain different and unconfounded. Take heed of enforcing such  
 argument, to prove a Parity in digree by the community of Appellation,  
 a Rom. 15. 8. since you may read of our blessed Savior himself, that he is a Deacon, an  
 b Efa 41. 27 b Evangelist, an c Apostle, a d Bishop. But forbearing this, I proceed.  
 c Heb. 3. 1. Mr. Speaker, I come now in brieve to my third Episcopacy, Episcopatu  
 d 1 Pet. 2. 25. Princeps. This, this third age is the burden of our song,

— De duro est ultima ferro.

God was the first: the second was bright and glistering, a silver age at  
 least. But this, this where we now are, it is yron, I and rusty too.

This is that Clergy Monarch whom we would avoid. This ambition  
 of a solepower, it is a very old sin, it began in Diotrephes, of whom the A-  
 postle complains that he was πρωτοδικων, Primatum ailexit, he loved to  
 be a Primat, the first, the sole in authority. He (Diotrephes alone) did  
 cast the brethren out of the Church: and therefore the Apostle doth threaten  
 that when he comes, he will bring the deeds of Diotrephes to remembrance.

3 Io. 1. 9. This dangerous soleship is a fault in our Church indeed; and this I take  
 to be pestilentia Cathedra, the very pest and poyson of Episcopacy; this is  
 that which must away, and this being gone, I shal not fear their tyranny.

If it were not for this, they could neither oppresse good Ministers, nor  
 preferre dull droans, scandalous persons, nor pragmaricall Innovators.  
 If they had not been so sole in power, our many severall chaires for Re-  
 ligion had not groaned with such number and weight of complaints. But  
 by this they have been able to do mischief above believe.

Et ipse miror, vixque jam factum malo.  
 Potuisse fieri credo —



The exemplar piety, the ardent love and sweet humility of holy Bishops in the first four centuries, did worke so farre upou the credulous hopes of both Clergie and Laity, that presuming to finde in the same Chair a succession of the same goodnesse, they became guilty of a desperate submission to a sole power of one man, before they knew what changes, and what consequences they should feele.

*Ignatius* the great Bishop of Antioch, doth discriminate his owne Episcopacy, from an Apostleship, even by this, that he had not a sole ship of power and authority as they, and therefore he saies, *Ἐγὼ ὡς Ἀπόστολος & ὁδὸς ποιῶμαι*, I doe not command you as an Apostle.

This Bishop keeps a dangerous distance between his owne Pharisaicall worship, and the Plebeian Clergy, who yet are all in order as good, and many of them in merit better then his Lordship.

To draw this to a point: The first Episcopacy we all are vow'd unto. The second, none will dissent from, but a lover of Novellisme: The third, none can submit unto, but such as are content to be passive in a Tyranny. Away then with that, and with that alone, and then away with their needlesse question who say: shew us another government, before you take this away.

Away with that *interregnum* of Lay-Commissioners, the high roade way, or the next degree to Anarchy. Renovation is not Innovation, to reforme is not to bring in a new forme, but to purge the present forme, by reducing it unto the old. *Querite antiquas semitas, & State super eas.* Jer. 6. State: stay there: we may keep our places, though we change our postures. Away with our present Episcopacy, but give us the ancient Presidency. Both may be done at once.

Mr. *Speaker*, This way of Commissioners, wherein five Laymen shall have the controll of all that is or was of Clergy cognisance and function: *mirabile dictu*, I want words, — I much feare that this may prove a dangerous new way, to let in other new wayes hereafter. In the meane time what view, what shew, what face of a Church shall poore England have? England of late the glory and the pride of Christendome reformed! My heart akes to thinke, that when Christendome was ready to come over unto us, we are now ready to runne away from our selves: And to see that we labour so much for Ruine and Eradication, that we are like to lose (by a not seasonable laying hold thereon) the most glorious hopes of a full and blessed reformation that ever lay before a Parliament. The issue will be, if we will have ruine, we shall have ruine. If at present we have that active Ruine so much pursued, we shall shortly have



al. 4. 7. have a passive Ruine undesired. Let us not be fond of this ill sounding Proverbe : Take away both *Root and Branch* : it is threatned as a curse, I never read it any where as the language of a blessing.

ant. 1. 4. But ( Sir ) *Usque quo ?* How long shall we be in this wilderness of Anarchy ? No time, no bound set, no period fixed to our confusion of government ? How dare we thus discompose, disfigure, and deform the beauty of our Church ? will your Commissionated Church be *came-ly as the Tents of Kedar, and as the curtaines of Solomon ?* Where is that *Acies ordinata*, the Church that was prophesied to be *terrible as an army with banners ?*

ach. 1. 1. In the Prophet *Zachary* the Lord doth threaten it as a curse, to breake both his *Staves* : both that of *Beauty* ( which is interpreted the beautifull order of government ) and that of *Bands* ( which is construed brotherly unity : ) and surely I think *order and unity*, if one be broken, neither is firme. Let this then happen to other Nations to our enemies ; but with us let the *bands of unity*, and the *beauty of order* be our double support : otherwise we shal have cause to bemoan our selves in the words of the same Prophet, *How lye Fir trees, for the Cedar is fallen : Because all the mighty are destroyed --- for the defenced Forrest is cut down. There is the voice of bowling of Shepheards, for their glory is destroyed.*

ach. 1. 1. For my part, I doe here freely and heartily profess, that I am none of those men, that 1600. years after my Saviour came to plant his Church will consent to give a new rule, a new invented government to his Church never knowne untill this age. I dare not think ( who can think it *salva pietate ?* ) that the Son of God, the *wisdom of the Father*, came downe from Heaven to plant a Church, to erect a Kingdome, and that he did erect this Kingdome that he did plant this Church, many hundred yeares since, and this with the deare price of his precious blood, but either never would, or never could blesse it with a good government till we were born to set it right. Take heed of such assertions, that give way to inferences and consequences of unavoidable impiety, and may lead on a new path to Atheisme. Beleeve it ( Sir ) beleeve this : The *Wisdom of the Wisdom of God*, cannot be guilty ( I speak with zeale and reverence ) of such an improvidence, to erect his Kingdome then, & to give it his rule but now. Joyne with me ( I beseech you Sir ) in this faith, that our blessed Saviour *on whose shoulders the government did rest*, did not immediatly, and for so many ages after forsake his Church, and abandon it to Antichristianisme, with whom at first he promised to be *alway unto the end of the World.*

In a word (Sir) we are all quick-sented, we are all on fire to hear of an arbitrary rule in the civill State: I beseech you, let us all be equally or more zealous for the Lord of Hosts: Let us not be guilty of bringing in an arbitrary rule into his house. Take heed (Sir) let us all take heed of such a dangerous parity, as some would bring in amongst us; and the rather because they presume to set the stampe of divine authorority upon that counterfeit metall.

Parity of degrees in Church-government hath no foundation in holy Scripture, and is as absonous to reason, as parity in a Sate or family. Indeed is a fancy a dream, a meer *non entity*, it neither hath, nor ever had a being. If it be any thing, it is absolute Anarchisme, and that is nothing, for provation of government is not a government.

But on the contrary, imparity is from divine authority: our Saviour did plant it, and then I am sure it is a plant that should grow and continue. By the way I presse you not with instances of Gods Church under the law, though that, and this under the Gospell were both planted by the same Al-knowing wisdom. From the equity of which law there, and from the imparity of Governours therein, a most solid and unfailing argument may be deduced for the lawfulness of an imparity also under the Gospell. For that which is good in it selfe, is ever so. And without all peradventure, if Church imparity did (in its owne being) lye crosse unto the will of God, or to the Law of his Church, God never would, never could have commanded it. But that our Saviour also in the Evangelicall Church did plant imparity is most cleare. First, he chose his 12 Apostles. Afterward he appointed 70. Disciples, yet no man can affirme that these were all of the same Order, Dignity, and Degree. If they had been so, what needed so curious supplement when once the number was reduced to eleven? After our Saviours ascension, the holy Apostles did ordaine another imparity, and that was of <sup>d</sup> Deacons.

<sup>e</sup> St. Paul biddeth some *οικονομῶν*, to watch and observe; He commendeth others if they desire *ἐπισκοποῦντες*, to oversee. So there are *ἐργαζόμενοι*, labourers in the word; and you know who was *οὐκ ἦν ἀρχιερεὺς*, <sup>h</sup> a wise master-builder, which is more then others were, though all be called *κωδοῦκοι*, and *κωδοῦκοι*, <sup>i</sup> fellow-workmen, fellow-labourers in the spirituall building. Farther, Sir, as you read *ἡσπασμένοι*, souldiers, and *ἡσπασμένοι*, <sup>k</sup> fellow-souldiers: so you may read also that there were *οἱ ἡγούμενοι*, <sup>m</sup> Leaders and Governours, such as had oversight and must be obeyed. The Elder or Presbyter is frequent in the Apostolicall Epistles, and there are in power and honour above these (not as our Novellists do fondly construe under these) *οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ ἐπίσκοποι*, the ruling Presbyters. One of which num-

Luk. 6.13.

Luk. 10.1.

Acts 1.

<sup>d</sup> Act. 6.6.<sup>e</sup> Phil. 3.17<sup>f</sup> 1 Tim. 3.1<sup>g</sup> The. 5.12<sup>h</sup> 1 Cor. 3.1<sup>i</sup> Rom. 16.

3. 21.

Phi. 2. 25.

Philem. 24

<sup>k</sup> 2 Tim. 2.3<sup>l</sup> Phil. 2. 25

Phile. 1. 2.

<sup>m</sup> Heb. 13.

17. 24.

<sup>n</sup> 1 Tim. 5:

17.



om. 1.8 ber, S. Paul doth call οἱ ἡγούμενοι, *the Ruler*. As in Pignatus there are  
d Tral. οἱ ἡγούμενοι ἢ ἐκκλῆσιων, *The Leaders or Rulers of Churches*.

Is there no imparity in all this? Then the Rulers and the ruled are the same in Logick. But for my part I am cleare and confident in this, that imparity in power, among persons officed in the Church, is both lawfull and expedient; and ought to be preserved, if order, decency, necessity, universall practice, Apostolicall example, and Divine authority can altogether make but one concludent argument.

As may be collected by Speakers written Pamphlet.  
Mr. Speaker, I do humbly and earnestly intreat, and beg of every Member of this House, seriously and sadly to examine his owne soule (never more cause then in this present Vote) what end, and what ultimate aime he hath in this dreadfull Bill. What is the government his heart doth wish for? Three wayes of Church-government I have heard off, and no more; the *Episcopall*, the *Presbyteriall*, and that new-borne Bastard, *Independency: Non datur quarium*, The last of these is nothing but a confounding Ataxy, rent upon rent, and a schisme of schismes, untill all Church Community be torne into Atomes, every three men (nay every three women) dissociating themselves into an ἐτεροδοξαίαν, *a will-worship* of their owne devising, which fondly and madly the would call a Church. Where, and in what corner of the world hath this aëry Independency been asleep untill these dayes? *Quo consule?* under what Kings Reigne was it borne? where may I heare that it hath a being? where may I read (below the world in the Moone) that ever it had a being? I will be bold to brand it with the name of a new-minted Seminary for all selfe-pride, heresie, schisme, sedition, and for libertinisme, except an outward seeming Saintship. A pestilence to all government, a traitorous and clouted Anarchy. If this way have any favourers in this House, let them owne their Religion, and speake for it.

The next is the *Presbyteriall* way, a more orderly, and a better tempered novelty then the other, but a novelty, and indeed but elder brother to Independency: upon this you had my sense at Mid-summer last. It is enough for me that I can point out when it began: since my Father was borne, or I am sure at most in my Grand-fathers dayes: and it is my fixed resolution, that since (by Gods blessing) I am of the oldest Religion, I will never consent to any but to the oldest government.

The third way is *Episcopall*: the origall whereof is high, and beyond my search to define: yet this I am bold to affirme, it had a Being, and that an allowed Being in the best, the first, the purest age, and (as I said before) if it be not of *Apostolicall Institution*, yet cleare enough it is of *Apostolicall permission*, It will be said that our Bishops are nothing such: yet



yet ( *Sir*, I pray you ) may not they be easier made such, then the Dutch or Scottish Presbytery, or a New-England Independency can be? what is our worke but to reforme? I would the question were put whether our Episcopacy shall be reformed, or not,

First ( *Mr. Speaker* ) it is true, there are degrees in Episcopacie it selfe: and to this point also, give me leave to expresse my selfe, and it may be necessary for me so to do, although I am confident you are herein pre-resolved as I with *Sir*, the staires are so easie, and ambition ( that first made Divels ) is so apt to climbe, that so long as the Ladder is not taken away The ( 1 ) Priest would be a ( 2 ) rurall Deane. He an ( 3 ) Archdeacon. Then ( 4 ) a Bishop. An ( 5 ) Archbishop. A ( 6 ) Metropolitan. A ( 7 ) Primate. The Primate would be a ( 8 ) Patriarch ( his owne booke breathed that hope ) and once a Patriarch, why not a ( 9 ) Pope? Thus have you nine degrees of a terrestriall Hierarchy, suitable to the invented nine Orders of a Coelestiall Hierarchy among the Angels. It was a fond fancy to invent them in the world above, and it will prove a dangerous folly in us to suffer these in the world below. One of the links of this Chaine is almost burst asunder: never let that be sodered againe. *Sir* in *uno Sylla multi Maris*: Cut off but one *Archiepiscopacie*, and you shall at once destroy with it, both Metropolitan, Primate and Patriarch, and in time the Pope also. *Archiepiscopacie*! why, who ever voted that to be Divine? Nay, who can give a good morall and prudentiall reason for the subsistence of *Archiepiscopacie*? This indeed is a Prince among the Lordly Prelates, and they all doe sweare Canonically fealty and allegiance to his soveraign Miter. But I forbear, being confident there is a concurrency enough in this House to vote the Abolition of that needlesse, and that dangerous degree.

So then my sence is thus in brieve. Away with *Archiepiscopacy* both roote and branch. Away with my lord Bishop both roote and branch. Touch not our *Pastor* Bishop. Reforme, reduce, replant our Bishop President, and with him his Presbytery. Give him his ancient, due, and proper power. Let him ordaine and censure, but with due assistency, and not otherwise. Reason and necessary, and all exemplar government require this Episcopacy: Shew me a Colledge without a Master: A City without a Governour: A ship without a Pylot: An Army without a Generall: Doe the thrive without an Excellency? or doth *Venice* prosper without a Duke? or can you secure our owne House without a Speaker.

But *Sir*, I have heard some among us say, if then wee must have a Bishop, let him be like a Pylot, onely for a voyage: let him be like your selfe, a Speaker onely for a Parliament. I answer, if but so, yet is it

better then any other way that I see yet propounded to you? farre better then any hazardous way of Commissioners, that shall beginne now, and end no man knowes when. But Sir, I come in againe upon my owne ground, and doe affirme that *ab initio non fuit sic*; your Bishop of old was not occasionall *pro re natâ*, and immediately degraded, nothing so: but continued a fixed, constant, perpetuall moderator and president for life, unlesse outed for his own demerits. I am for the old way, Reason and Religion have allowed it, and the constant Practise of the best and most antient times hath honoured it.

Take this also farther to approve it. If your Bishop President be not constant, the encouragement to Piety and Learning will not be so constant. Let desert in the Church have its own sphere ( as desert in the civill State hath ) a constant reward of Honour and of Profit. For Sir, Honour and Profit must invite forth Learning and industry, or you shall have none.

Thus have you ( with my imperfections ) my sense up on Episcopall government, the first part of your Bill: I passe in brief unto their Cathedral Covents, my second distribution. Mr. Speaker, I have bin diligent and attentive to the whole procedure of al debates of this nature, yet am I just where I ever was, nothing moved, not at all changed, unlesse this be a change; that by hearing my owne sense better argued for by others, then I could doe for my selfe, it is now deeper fortified within me.

One main exception to the quite voting away our Cathedrals, ever was and both yet remain with me, That which sticks with me is this: what certainty, what security shall I have that Learning and Religion shall have a perpetuall maintenance, and a sure reward of Honour and Profit Proportional? you will say, that your Vote already passed will secure me; nothing so: You have indeed voted that *all the Lands of the Deans and Chapters shall be employed to the advancement of Learning and piety*. But in the meantime what becomes of the Bishops Lands; They are Cathedral also: if you take away the present proprietor, what shall become of the Land? we shal not rife for it; Shall we make a gift of what is none of our own? or shall we cure the Common-wealth at the cost of the Church? I heare little said in the House, I heare too much in private.

But I proceed. This Vote ( I say ) doth not secure me: It is too general My reason why I am not herewith satisfied is this, because for ought this Vote expresseth, you may give al the Land to any one use only and performe your Vote; as for instance, if all the wealth of Deanries be distributed among the Parish-Ministers only, your Vote is fulfilled. But all Learning and the Piety, that we are bound to take care of, is not thereby provided for.

This



This (I say) doth therefore stick with me, and notwithstanding your generall Vote so inwardly, that untill I do see and know, how & in what manner the use and the particular disposall of this great revenue (both Episcopall and conventall) shall be, I cannot concur to vote away the present possessors thereof: No, not the future successors therunto. Our Deanes and Prebends as now they stand, or rather, as they have of late abused themselves, are both burdensome and scandalous to us, and to our Religion. Yet I must look upon their revenue, as the great reward, and powerfull encouragement of Religion and of Learning.

Some would alter and amend these cloysters, others would root them out; some would transfer their wealth, but do not tell whither. Some would annex all to the Crown, to enlarge the royall revenue; Some reputing them Incendiaries, would out of their forfeited estates, pay our debt of promise to the Scots; Some would distribute all that wealth among Parish Ministers only; Others have mixt and different designs. And there want not some who upon all these Lands do write, *Touch not, taste not, handle not*; you know it was urged by a learned Dr. at the Bar, *Col. 2. 21. D. H. Cher. that of S. Paul, Thou that abhorrest Idols, committest thou sacrilege? This Rom. 1. 22* theame I shall decline, and whatsoever my opinion be, whether man can give unto God a speciall property in a peece of Land or not; yet am I fully resolved never to alienate any of these Revenues, but to mend the uses in the way of piety, so that this supposed danger of being sacrilegious shall be certainly out of my doores.

In the next place, my humble and my earnest desire is, that you will maintaine the Pen as well as the Pulpit, Polemic as well as perswasive Learning. If our Cathedrals were rightly temper'd, we might hope for admirable fruit of their Revenues. Young Students in Divinity wander for want of manuduction. Poore Christians among us want a godly, sober, plaine and pithy English Paraphrase upon the whole Bible. Our Nation, our Religion, and all Christendome want the just Volumes of a large Latine Commentary. The body of Divinity should be reduced into a solid Catechisme. Every Heresie might bee choaked in its first breath. All the Fathers might be revised and briefly animadversed. I cannot thinke of halfe the happinesse we might hope for, so long as the rewards of *Wisdom* are held forth to invite and encourage industry. *Pro. 8. 18. Riches and honour are with me, saith Wisdom, that know how to invite. Take then none of the reward away, either of Profit, or of Honour; So much reward as you abate, so much industry you loose. Who even went unto the Hesperides onely to fight with the Dragon? only for that?*

for



for victory, and for nothing else? No, Sir, there was the fruit of Gold (*Profit as well as Honour*) to be gained, to be achieved, and for that the Dragon shall be fought withall.

——— *Quis enim doctrinam amplectitur ipsam,  
Præmia si tollas?* ———

The Lawyer, the Phylician, the Merchant, through cheaper paines do usually arrive at richer fortunes; And but that it pleaseth God to work inwardly, I should wonder that so many able heads, ingenuous spirits, and industrious souls, should joy in the continuall life long paines, and care of a Parish Cure, about 1 col. per an. stipend for life, when with easier brows, fewer watchings, and lesser charge, they might in another profession (as every day we see it done) fasten a steady inheritance to them and their Children, of a far larger income.

*In this place there was composition of that which was (on a like occasion) spoken 22. Novemb. and is entred pag. And this place is halfe imperfect for want of those lines here.*

Let me hereby way of anticipation, prevent that which will else come in objectively upon me. The Vniversities (it will be said) as amply furnished with able disputants: what need other care, other provision?

Truly Mr. Speaker, excepting some of our publike professors there, and some few of the heads of our Houses there, who hath descended into this *Areopagus*? There is indeed good training, good preparatory exercising of raw Souldiers there; and much valour in counterfeited skirmishes among them: But for perfect Polemy in letters, you may guesse what our Vniversities can yeeld, by observing our Trayned Bands at common Musters: Your gradiate in the schoole of war will tell you, that good Artillery men, though quick at a dry muster, and nimble with false fires, are not immediately compleated into true and full Souldiers: So every Syllogizor is not presently a match to cope with *Bellarmino*, *Baronius*, *Stapleton*, &c. Mr. Speaker, you see my heart: I move not, I plead not for the Deanes, nor for the Prebends. If they will not prove, if they cannot be turned to be champions in this holy warfare, then the rich revenue *desur digniori*: Let it be given to them that will bring forth better fruit. But if there may be had such a reduction of them, such a retrenching of them, nay, such a new forming of them, that we may be alway sure in all Pelemicke learning, to have some men of valour, to goe in and out before us: Surely Sir, let them be so reduced, so retrenched, so new formed; if not, if this cannot be, then let others have the wealth

wealth, that will do the work.

And after all this ( I beseech you ) let me not be misconstrued, as if I intended an Apology for these Cathedrall societies : it is neither in my wish nor power. These Covents are still the same with me they ever were : and the short character of a Cathedrall Corporation ( as now it stands abused ) is still the same it was. A nest of Non-residents. An *Epicurean* Colledge of riot and voluptuousnesse. A schoole for complements in Religion: but a scourge upon the life and practice thereof. They have bin the *Alytum* for superstition : but the *Scala Gemonia* for true Piety. Of late they have bin the shame of our Clergy : and are now almost become the scorn of our Laity. Yet Sir, for all this (all this so bad so true) I am still where I was. Though the Channel be foul and muddy where these waters ( I mean their wealth ) doth run, yet I cannot wish it dried up; but rather purged and cleansed, or else a new channell cut, wherein the current of all their wealth may run on, pure and clean to the holy uses of Religion and of Learning. Sir, many great and excellent uses (all for Piety and Learning) may be presented to you : I beseech you let us consider sadly on it. For if this wealth be but once like water powred abroad, no time, no age to come will ever give us such a stock again. And thus I end the second of my two generall Heads.

To sum up all, you see I am for the old originall Episcopacies, with Presbyteries subjoynd therunto : and I am for an explicite disposall of all manner of Church revenues : your bill denyes me both. It denyes me my strong wishes, and forceth upon me the terror of confusion. This Bill doth seem to me an uncouth wilderness, a dismall vastnesse, and a solitude wherein to wander, and to lose our selves and our Church, never to be found again; me thinks we are come to the brink of a fatall precipice, and here wee stand ready to dare one another, who shall first leape downe. And that which increaseth my horror and amazement to the height, is to hear men confidently affirm, that we go safe upon an even ground, and that all this while the government is not changed. Surely Sir, either my head is giddy, or else I see is this Bill our English Church turne round, or rather tost upside downe.

Perswade the King to commit all his regall authority into 9. Commissioners, and tell him, that he is still a Monarch. Beside the change of governors, doe you not give us new rules? Do you not take away the old? And is the government still the same? I will



instance into one. What is become of the divine Ordinance of Ex-communication? must there be none? there is none in all your Bill. Five Lay-men shall require five Ministers to ordain: is not this new? was this government with us: may was it ever in the world before? five Lay-Commissioners must judg and pronounce in matter of heresse: yet still our Church-goverment is unchanged. I know not what to say in so dull, so flat a cause. Truly Sir, for my part I do look upon this Bill as upon the gasping period of all good order: it will prove the mother of absolute Anarchisme: it is with me as the passing bell to toll on the funerall of our Religion, which when it goes will leave this dismall shriek behind,

*Εὐὲ θανόντων γαίη πυρρὴν πυρρὴν.*

*When Religion dyes, let the world be made a bone-fire.*

In short Sir, this Bill hath so little of my Hopes, so nothing of my Reason, so all of my Fears, that if it must passe, I do most humbly pray, and do earnestly beseech this honourable House to grant me this favour, that I may be admitted to my Protestation against this Bill, and so recorded. And ( although some worthy Members of this House are troubled, as they have cause, to have their names set on a poast ) yet it is my ambition that I may as negative to this Bill, be poasted up from *Westminster* to the *Tower* and from *Dover* to *Burwick*, as one that dares not hazard a whole Nationall Church at blind man buffe.

To conclude all: so great a variety of matter: so totall a mutation, of so vast and so hazardous a consequence: it doth amaze me and distract me so, that although I must say No to your Bill, yet I hardly know with what motion to conclude. But thus I adventure.

Let the intent & scope of Reformation be dividied into two bills.

Let the subject of the first be Church goverment.

Let the subject of the 2d. be the disposall of Church revenues.

Let both these bills go *Pari passu*, hand in hand together.

And because I cannot so well by word of mouth and memory present them, I do humbly beg leave either to read unto you such heads, for the first of these bills, as I conceive will well stand both with our Religion, and with the present Laws of the Common-wealth: Or else, that you will please to take in a new Bill ready formed to that sense, and I doubt not, but you will quickly find it the best and nearest way to Piety, Peace, the honour of our Religion, and the Glory of God.





## Church-government,

REDUCED INTO A FEW HEADS,  
fit (as I conceive) to be reformed into a Bill to be presented  
to the Commons House in Parliament.

*Memorandum, An imperfect Copy of these, without my knowledge or  
consent hath been three times Printed before.*

### I.

**I** *Aprimis*, Every severall Shire of *England* to be a severall Circuit or Diocesse for Ecclesiastick jurisdiction: excepting the little County of *Rutland*, which may be joined to *Leicester*. And *Yorkshire* which may be well divided into three.

II. The Diocesse in *Wales* to remaine in Circuit as at present.

III. Twelve learned Divines of irreproveable life and Doctrine, to be selected in every Diocesse, as a constant Presbytery, and they to give necessary assistance to the Bishop.

IV. A pious, and painfull Divine of exemplar life and Learning to bee established the Bishop and constant President over this Presbytery, and throughout the severall Diocesses aforesaid respect vely.

V. This Bishop in each Diocesse to ordaine, suspend, deprive, degrade, excommunicate, by and with consent and assistance of seven Divines of his Presbytery then present, and not otherwise.

VI. This Bishop to aequate and performe all those services and employments trusted unto, and expected from the present Bishops of the Land, by vertue of the present Lawes of the Land.

VII. The times of Ordination throughout the Land to be four times every yeare, viz. the first Sunday in every moneth of *May*, *August*, *November*, and *February* yearly.

VIII. Every Bishop constantly to reside within his Diocesse and to keepe his especiall residence in some one prime or

chiefe City or Town within his Diocesse : as in particular the Bishop of *Kent* at *Canterbury*. The B. of *Suffex* at *Chichester*, &c.

IX. Every Bishop to have one especiall particular Congregation within his Cure, the most convenient for neernesse to his chiefe residence, and the richest in value that may be had, where he shall duly preach, unlesse he be lawfully hindred, and then shall take care that his cure be well supplied by another.

X. No Bishop shall remove, or be translated from the Bishoprick which he shall first undertake; unlesse it be done by the King, with consent of a Nationall Synod, or consent of Parliament.

XI. Vpon death or other avoidance of a Bishop, the King to grant a *Conge d'eslier* to the whole Clergy of that Diocesse, and they to present three of the Presbyters aforesaid, and the King to appoint which of the three his Majesty shall please.

XII. The first Presbyters in every Diocesse to be named in this present Parliament.

XIII. Vpon the death or any other avoidance of a Presbyter, the Ministers of that Diocesse to present three : and the Bishop with the rest of the Presbyters to make election out of that three : and if Votes be equal, then the Bishops Vote to sway the Election.

XIV. The *Conge d'eslier* for election of a Bishop, shall issue forth within two months after the death, or other avoidance of a Bishop. The choice of another Presbyter to be within one month after the death or avoidance of a former Presbyter.

XV. No Bishop or other Clergy man to have the constant manage of any Temporall office, or secular jurisdiction, but only for the present to hold and keep the probate of Wills in the usuall places, untill the Parliament shall otherwise resolve. Yet I conceive it fit that the 12. Bishops (by the rest of the Bishops to be chosen) by every Parliament called to sit there assistant, to give advice in matter of Religion, and in cases of conscience, when the House of Lords shall please to require it of them.

XVI. Parochiall Ministers to be entrusted and endued with more power then formerly : the manner and extent whereof to be determined in the next Nationall Synod.

XVII. The Parish Minister to hold weekly Vestries there with the Parishioners, to consider and take notice of all manner of scandall within the Parish.

XVIII. The Parish Ministers to meet in every rurall Deanery

once every quarter, there to prepare, and make up (by joynt assent) such presentments of scandall, as may be fit to be transmitted to the Bishop and Presbytery.

XIX. The Bishop once a year (at Midsummer) to summon a Diocesan Synod, there to hear, and by generall vote to determine all such matter of scandall in life and doctrine as shall be presented to them.

XX. Every three years (at the same day the triennial Parliament shall begin) a Nationall Synod to be (whereby there will be no need of Arch-bishops) which Synod shall for persons consist of all the Bishops in the Land, and of two Presbyters to be chosen by the rest out of each Presbytery: and of two Clarkes to be chosen out of every Diocese by the Clergy thereof.

XXI. At the first day of their convention the Bishops out of their own number to chuse a moderator or president of the Synod.

XXII. From the Vestry, appeale may be to the rurall Deanery, from thence to the Diocesan Synod, and from the Diocesan to the Nationall Synod.

XXIII. This Nationall Synod to make and ordaine Canons for the government of the Church, but they not to binde, untill confirmed by the King in Parliament.

XXIV. Every Bishop to have over and above the Benefice aforesaid a convenient dwelling in the chiefe towne of his residence a certaine profit of a constant rent allowed and allotted proportionall to the Diocese wherein he is to officiate.

XXV. That certain choice Benefices of the best value, and most convenient situation, that can be had, may be allotted to the Presbyters, one to each, and that they also may have each of them a constant yearly profit over and above his Benefice.

XXVI. As for the Revenue of the Bishops, Deans, Chapters, &c. a strict survey to be taken of all their rents and profits, by choice Commissioners in every severall County, and the same at an appointed time to be represented to the Parliament, and in the meane time no timber to be felled. Afterward some of the profits may be laid by to make a stock, wherewith to purchase in the first fruits and tenths, by ascertaining a more steady rent to the Crown. Impropriations may be bought in. Ministers Widowes and Orphans may not with Husband and Father lose all support. Libraries (at the publique charge) to be provided for every Bishop: And some Colledges erected, and by degrees endowed for Di-



vines therein to exercise themselves, through all the latitude of Theology.

P O S T S C R I P T.

**T**HUS have you a faithfull and a clear exposure of my selfe in matter of Religion, both in what I have said and in what I wish may be done. Let the candid and ingenuous Reader judge me. Such of the prelatick partie as are in love with Present pompe and power will be averse unto me, because I pare so deep: The *Rooters*, the Antiprelatick party declaine against me, because I will not take all away. At last Midsummer a new Moone did take these men, I did begin to finde a different greeting, a change of salutation. Some expostulate: others condmne: some advise: others would seeme to condole: all upon occasion of my speech 21. June; although I finde not there (or in any thing else that I have said) any cause to make mee the object of *their* anger, *their* counsell, or *their* pitty.

The plaine truth (as I touched before) is that immediately upon my approach unto this Parliament, some circumstances did concur to lead my language on upon the Archbishop, not any personall passages (God and my soule do witnesse for me, I have not such a temper) But being servitor for that Shire, and in that Diocesse where some of his hardship then fresh and new was brought by complaint unto me; The accident of presenting that complaint, did beget me almost as many new friends as hee had old enenies: and I know not what misconception did thereupon (untruely) entitle me an enemy to the very function of Episcopacie. I never gave my name in to take away both root and branch. I love not the sound of a curse so well. If by the *Rooters* I have been so mistaken, their credulity is not my crime. And their soule language shall neither be my shame nor sorrow, I will repeat some of their salutations.

- 1 A.G. repeat some of their salutations.
- 2 W.P. 1. One tels me that I would onely have new Bishops in roome of
- 3 S.W.B. old ones: *Cujus contrarium verum est.* 2. Another that I have a
- 4 M.S. Pope in my belly. 3. A third that hee was never more sorry for any
- 5 W.C. speech in the House, meaning that 21. June. 4. Another that strange
- 6 Mr.S.S. things were said of me. 5. A fifth and sixth, that I goe the way to
- 7 Dr.B. spoile all their worke, so I hope I doe. 7. A seventh that it is said I
- 8 Dr.W. am false from Grace: so some men seem desperately to looke into
- 9 R.L.B. the Arke of God. 8 An eight that I have contraried all that I said
- 9 R.L.B. before: let the Dr. shew me that now. 9. A ninth is told that I have

apostated; J doubt his Religion (in quantum it differs from that of the Church of England) is an Apostacy. 10. A tenth that J am <sup>10 Mr. F.</sup> gone over to their adversaries. 11. An eleventh and twelfth that the <sup>11 S. A. H.</sup> Primate of Ireland, and Dr. Browning have infected me, I dare drink <sup>12 T. W.</sup> their poison. 13. That the two learned and painfull equals with- <sup>13 G. H.</sup> out match, Mr. Reading, and Mr. Abbot, abusing my trust in them and good opinion of them do mislead me; a slander upon three at once. 14. Dr. Burges and I have conferred notes; I wish we had. 15. <sup>14 S. E. P.</sup> That I am for Bishops, for Crosses, and for Images; true and false. 16. <sup>15 Mr. K.</sup> That if I had held where I was, there had not been a Bishop in the <sup>16 I. K.</sup> Land before August last; a false wizard, I did hold where I was, and yet the Bishops are where they were. 17. That I have lost the <sup>17 Civis</sup> prayers of many thousands. 18. That I have lost the honour I had <sup>ignotus.</sup> and that my conscience is not so good as it was in the beginning of <sup>18 T. C.</sup> this Parliament. Good (Mr. C.) you who would have Bishops out of their chairs, come you out of the chair of the scornfull. You are one of them who jog our elbowes, and boar our Parliament ears with Babylon, Antichrist, and the mystery of Iniquitie which I dare say is grossely misunderstood by your self and many others of your rooting Tribe.

Before this Parliament was convened, you would have joyned upon that day, when the sting of ill executed Episcopacie (the high Commission) had bin taken away; and (the Pest of the chair) solehip of power retrenched. One is done and both had bin effected, if you and such as you had not overheard a furnace that was burning hot before; and with pressing for Ruine have betrayed the time of a blessed Reforming. Take it unto you, for upon you, and the blind ignorant wilfulness of such as you, I do here charge the sad account of the loss of such a glorious Reformation, as being the revived image of the best and purest ages, would with its Beauty and Piety have drawn the eye and heart of all Christendome unto us. *The Horse-leaches daughters do crie, Pro. 30. 15.* Give, give. And you that have had enough, do stil cry more more. The greedy Vulture of an insatiate appetite is incurable, To reform Episcopacie it is in your esteem too faint, too cold a work, it is labor ill bestowd and unthankfully accepted, nay one of you (said in my hearing) it is a sin to labour in the dressing and proining of that plant, which (say you) is not of God, & must be digged up. And with Episcopacy, a way with the burden of our Liturgy. <sup>M. P.</sup>  
 \* If you take not off this burden also, it will be girded upon us closer and a <sup>S. M.</sup> stronger



stronger then ever. Away with the thoughts of a Nationall Church  
 also <sup>b</sup> It hath no patterne in the Scripture. <sup>c</sup> It is impossible for a  
<sup>b</sup> Protesta- Nationall Church to be the true Church of Christ. Let us have no  
 tion protest- Church but Congregations, <sup>d</sup> and let them be without all super-  
 ed, p. 29. intendency : as much to say, as let every family be a Church, and  
<sup>c</sup> Mich. have religion as they please. Away with all <sup>e</sup> distinction of Cler-  
 Quirin. gie and Laity, it is Popish and Antichristian. Let us then banish  
 p. 4. from us such popish names, and send them home to Rome. <sup>f</sup> The Church is  
<sup>g</sup> Eatons sermon vouch- a body of parity, whose members are all Kings and Priests. <sup>g</sup> And every  
 ed by Sir man must exercise his gifts in common. So also the learned (but herein  
 Th. Ashton. absurd and grosse ) <sup>h</sup> Walo Messalinus, Omnes olim Presbyteri erant  
 p. 4. Laici; and againe, Waldenses and Lutherus, erediderunt justos ac fide-  
<sup>i</sup> Assertion les Laicos posse omnes, quain Ecclesia Dei agi necesse est, agere, & omni-  
 of Scottish bus s mu eribus Ecclesiasticis defungi. These things thus pressed, and  
 government. pursued, I do not see but on that rise of the Kingship and Priestship  
 p. 3. & 5. of every particular man, the wicked sweetnesse of a popular parity  
 f Quintin. may hereafter labour to bring the King down to be but as the first  
 p. 9. among the Lords, and then if (asa Gentleman of the House profes-  
<sup>j</sup> Spencers sed his desire to me ) we can but bring the Lords downe into our  
 Pamphlet. House among us againe, <sup>k</sup> ~~Evangel~~ All's done. No rather, all's undone,  
<sup>l</sup> Thought by breaking asunder that well ordered chain of government, which  
 to be Salma- from the chair of Jupiter reacheth down by severall golden links e-  
 ficius against ven to the protection of the poorest creature that now lives among  
 Petavius, us.  
 p. 397. 398.

What will the issue be, when hopes grow still on hopes? and  
 one aime still riseth upon another, as one wave follows another?  
 I cannot divine. In the meane time you of that party have made  
 the worke of *R*formation farre more difficult then it was at the  
 day of our meeting, and the vulgar mind now fond with imagi-  
 nary hopes, is more greedy of new atchievements then thankfull  
 for what they have received. Satisfaction will not now be satis-  
 faction. They and you are just in <sup>a</sup> Seneca's description. *Non patitur*  
<sup>a</sup> De Ber. f. *aviditas quenquam esse gratum. Nunquam enim improbae spei, quod da-*  
 I. 2. c. 17. *tur, suis est. Eo majora cupimus, quo majora venerunt. — Eque am-*  
<sup>b</sup> I. H. *bitio non patitur quenquam in ea mensura conquiescere, quae quondam fuit*  
 H. M. *ejus impudens votum. — Ultra se cupiditas porrigit, & felicitatem*  
 Epictetus. *suam non intelligit.* Learn moderation ( *M. C.* ) unlesse (as <sup>b</sup> some  
 of you *R*ooters do seem too bold ) you do think moderation it selfe  
 a vice. The Stoick was in that point more pious then such Christi-  
 ans, his Motto was, and your lesson is, *Ανέχεο καὶ Ἀμύχεο.*